The Outlook

AUGUST 11, 1915

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR: RUSSIA AT BAY

The success that goes with the third trial seems to be about to crown the third German effort at Warsaw as we go to press. As this is written, Cholm and Lublin, southeast of the Polish capital, have fallen, and the important railway between these points—a section of the road that goes on to Warsaw—is in the hands of the Austro-Germans. Reports of the evacuation of the city have already reached us, and very likely Warsaw will be in Teutonic hands by the time this issue of The Outlook reaches our readers. The capture of Lublin and Cholm cut off the southern line of retreat of the Russian armies about Warsaw, and the advance of the army of General von Bülow through Kovno Province threatens to cut the important Warsaw-Petrograd Railroad; but the Russians claim that Bülow has been stopped. Still, the capture by the Germans of Mitau, twenty-eight miles southwest of Riga, shows that they have strength to spare away from Warsaw.

On the other hand, it is rather surprising that the Polish metropolis has held out as long as it has. Every day that saw it still in the Czar's possession seemed to lessen the probability of its being wrested from him, for stubbornness is the chief asset of the Russian soldier, and unless he is dislodged from his position at one fell swoop it is hard to budge him. The tenacity of the Russians at bay before Warsaw has surprised many military critics, as it has disheartened the Germans.

Nearly every recent official German report has boasted of the number of prisoners taken, the grand total of Russians captured during the first year of war being placed at the seemingly exaggerated total of 3,035,200. But, on the other hand, all the evidence indicates that during the Galician and Polish offensives that have carried the Austro-Germans from the Carpathians to beyond Lemberg and up to Warsaw, in killed and wounded the Teutons have suffered more than the Slavs, just as one hundred years ago the French suffered more than the Russians falling back beyond Moscow. Even the capture of Warsaw will be a doubtful recompense to the Teutons for their losses unless at the same time they capture or crush the Russian armies.

ITALY AGGRESSIVE

With the exception of the Austro-German-Russian front the area in which Austrians and Italians are fighting each other has been the scene of more activity recently than any other front in the war. It is difficult to learn what the results have been in this arena, however, the Austrian and Italian reports contradicting each other from alpha to omega. The Italians claim that they have punctured the second line of Austrian defense on the Carso Plateau, and that on the Isonzo front the Austrians are preparing to evacuate their first lines of defense. General Cadorna's latest *communiqué* shows that his utmost efforts are bent on bringing about the collapse of the eastern Austrian line from the Carnic Alps to the Adriatic, and that to secure this result he is hammering at three fortified centers—Tarvis, Tolmino, and Gorizia. The capture of Gorizia might mean the abandonment of the entire Isonzo front by Austria, leaving only the Fiume-Agram line of defense against a possible Italian invasion of the Hungarian plain. A move by Italy against this vital interior region would be bound to influence Bulgaria, who, according to an interview recently published in "Az Est," a Hungarian newspaper, is frankly holding her services in the war open to the highest bidder.

PROMISES TO THE POLES

Poland has been the battlefield of contending armies through every month of the year, and has possibly suffered more from the war than any other territory where there has been fighting, not excepting Belgium or even Servia. It now seems, however, that the

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unfortunate Poles, who have been forced to kill one another at the behest of the Czar and the Kaiser, may win something by virtue of the very fact of their imminence to the conflict. Their support is so desirable in these crucial days on the Slavic-Teutonic front that both Nicholas II and William II are bidding for it.

According to reports from England, Polish newspapers printed in East Prussia have recently published apparently "inspired" statements to the effect that on the occasion of his entry into Warsaw the German Emperor will announce his intention of establishing a new and independent Poland, including Russian Poland, Galicia, and some of Germany's territory, in particular the Duchy of Posen, with Danzig as a free port. On the other hand, at the opening of the Russian Duma on the anniversary of Germany's declaration of war against Russia, in the name of the Emperor, Premier Goremykin made the following announcement to the "chivalrous, noble, and faithful people of Poland:"

"The Emperor has charged me to declare to you that his Majesty has ordered the Cabinet to elaborate bills granting Poland, after the war, the right to organize freely its national, social, and economic life on a basis of autonomy under the scepter of the Emperor of Russia." To this the Premier added this significant paragraph:

> Together with the Poles, the other nationalities of our great and immense Russia have exhibited fidelity to the mother country. Accordingly, our home policy should be permeated by the principle of impartiality and benevolence for all faithful Russian citizens, without regard to distinction of nationality, creed, or tongue.

It is unfortunate that only to save itself from a foreign peril does the Russian bureaucracy ever seem inclined to permit its home policy to be characterized by any "impartiality and benevolence."

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WELSH COAL STRIKE

Apparently practically all danger has been averted of a renewal of the recent strike in the Welsh coal mines, which, had it been continued, would speedily have seriously diminished the supply of coal for the British navy and thereby have jeopardized the cause of the Allies. After a conference between the executive council of the miners and the representatives of the Government the following tentative terms were agreed upon:

The adoption of a new standard rate, to be known as the 1915 standard, consisting of a fifty per cent increase on the 1879 rates; a new standard wage for the day-wage workmen, consisting of the minimum wage act rates plus fifty per cent; a minimum wage of five shillings a day for surface men; payment for shifts worked in the afternoon and evening at the rate of "six turns for five," conditionally on a full week's attendance of work; uniform rates for night and day haulers; the raising of the minimum wage from 35 per cent to 65 per cent on the standard rates of 1879, and the abolition of the maximum wage; and the stipulation that these terms shall be operative until six months after the close of the war, then to be terminated by either the Government or the miners on three months' notice.

Upon the recommendation of their executive council the miners' delegates voted in favor of the conditional acceptance of these terms by 123 votes against 112, it being stipulated that these proposals are to form the basis for an unequivocal settlement and that work is to be continued under day-to-day contracts until such completed agreement be ratified by a further conference.

Such ratification is to be expected. The offer of a fifty per cent increase by the Government is an acknowledgment to the world of the justice of the miners' claim that they were not getting their fair share of the huge war profits of the mines, and there seems to be little that the miners could gain by holding out further. By accepting the Government's offer they will tremendously better their own circumstances and will earn the gratitude of every one who wants to see the Allies victorious.

THE CASE OF THE FORGED PASSPORT

The latest item in the voluminous diplomatic correspondence that has passed between the United States and Germany since the beginning of the war is a strong request for an investigation by Germany and report by her to this country of the facts in regard to the alleged fabrication of facsimile American passports for use by German spies. The note was sent as the result of the recent arrest in London of a German spy carrying a passport purporting to be that of Mr. Reginald Roland, an American citizen. The

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application of the acid test by Scotland Yard experts showed the passport to be a clever forgery, and an inquiry by the British authorities brought out the fact that Mr. Roland was in America, with the original passport in his possession. The spy thereupon confessed, it is said, that the false passport had been given him by Captain Schnitzer, of the German secret service in Antwerp, and that it had been made from a photographic copy of the Roland passport, with the German's photograph and description inserted in place of the American's. The document was stamped with a false seal of the United States Government.

If these facts are as stated, and the American State Department has good reason to believe that they are, Germany should be held to the "strict accountability" which has become an empty phrase so far as Germany's illegal submarine warfare is concerned. The forgery of a nation's seal—which is its signature—is a more serious offense in international life than is the forgery of the signature of an individual in civil life.

BRITISH NOTES AND GERMAN SHELL-FIRE

Five communications exchanged between the United States and Great Britain were made public last week. They all concern the British blockade of Germany. On July 14 the American Government sent a brief note to Great Britain notifying her that the United States would insist upon the rights of American citizens under international law without limitation or impairment by the British order in council or other law, and would not recognize proceedings in British prize courts in derogation of the rights of American citizens under international law. To this note Great Britain replied in a note dated July 31. In this note Sir Edward Grey says that he does not understand to what this refers, as he is not aware of any differences between the two countries as to the principles of international law applicable to the cases before the prize courts. He points out that the British prize courts are of course obliged to observe English law as well as international law; but there is no inconsistency in this because the British law is not supposed to be contrary to international law. If in any case the United States thinks that a case has been settled under English law contrary to international law, it is open to the United States to appeal the case to an international tribunal of arbitration. Sir Edward Grey quotes decisions committing both countries to the view that such a case can be appealed to an international commission.

On July 15 the United States registered a protest with regard to the detention of an American steamship, Neches. In reply to this Sir Edward Grey calls the American Government's attention to the fact that Germany is sinking neutral vessels without regard to the destination of the vessel or the origin of the cargo; and as long as these acts continue he says that it does not seem just that Great Britain should be called upon to abandon the rights which she has claimed.

The most important, however, of the five notes is Great Britain's answer to a note which the United States had sent on March 31. This answer consists of nineteen paragraphs, and is a carefully reasoned, clear, and persuasive legal argument. In this note Sir Edward Grey makes it clear that the British Government has no intention of avoiding the obligations imposed by established principles of international law; but he explains that the practices followed by Great Britain in the blockade of Germany, including the detention of vessels sailing to and sailing from certain neutral ports, are an adaptation of the old principle of blockade to the peculiar circumstances of this war. His note is therefore an argument to show that Great Britain's conduct conforms to the spirit of the rules of war. In the course of this note he refers effectively to what the United States did in the Civil War, and shows conclusively that what the United States did then was very much more an extension and development of former practices than what Great Britain is doing now. He reaffirms the doctrine that "adaptations of the old rules should not be made unless they are consistent with the general principles upon which an admitted belligerent right is based."

The question as to whether Great Britain is treating all neutrals impartially by blockading points on the North Sea and leaving unaffected commerce on the Baltic is left unanswered.

It is a pleasure to compare the reasonable spirit and law-abiding and law-respecting tone of this communication with Germany's latest exploit on the sea affecting the lives of Americans. While these notes were awaiting publication a German submarine attacked—according to some testimony, without warn-

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ing—the British steamship Iberian, and by shell-fire killed six non-combatants, of whom three were Americans. Whether with or without warning, such an attack shows a gross and wholly unnecessary disregard of human life. Compared with this German practice of shelling and torpedoing merchant vessels, the British practice of detaining vessels on the high seas without any loss of life is inconspicuous. So long as the subject of our communications with Great Britain concerns the legal status of property brought before prize courts, there cannot be very wide popular interest in such communications, and any excitement about them must be artificially stimulated. On the other hand, so long as Germany affords such cases as those of the Lusitania, the Falaba, the Armenian, the Gulflight, the Orduna, and the Iberian, our communications with that Empire will be invested with a peculiarly human interest, and the comparative calmness with which they are considered may be attributed to extraordinary self-restraint.

THE POPE'S PRAYER FOR PEACE

The Pope has issued another plea for peace addressed to the belligerent Powers; a few sentences from it must here suffice to indicate its character:

> Brotherly blood is being shed on land and sea. The most beautiful gardens of Europe, this garden of the world, are strewn with dead and ruins. Where once smiled factories and vineyards and fruitful fields are now only the frightful guns of war pouring forth their ruin and death. You are assuming before God and man tremendous responsibility. O you warriors, heed our prayer! Hark to the paternal voice of the Vicar of the Eternal and Supreme Judge before whom all shall be called to account.

This plea can hardly be other than a disappointment both to radical pacifists and to loyal members of the Roman Catholic Church.

The plea will disappoint the pacifists because, though full of kindly feeling, it proposes no plan by which peace can be secured, not even any first steps which can be taken toward peace. At present it is impossible that either the Germans or the Allies should sue for peace. To do so would be to acknowledge defeat. It is impracticable for any neutral Power to propose peace, partly because every neutral Power is more or less subject to the suspicion of interested motives. If the Pope could have thought out some plan, and put it before the world, by which the parties to this conflict could seek for peace without humiliation, and, what is more important, without peril to the cause for which they believe themselves to be contending, it would have received a consideration which will not be given to the present plea, which is vague and almost wholly emotional.

The plea will disappoint churchmen because it is wholly lacking in authority. It is a "cry for peace," a "prayer," not a command. It has not the tone of moral authority which the world, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, has a right to expect from one who claims to be the "Vicar of the Eternal and Supreme Judge before whom all shall be called to account."

For both these reasons it is uttered in vain.

HELPING THE NATIONAL GUARD

The attitude of employers towards employees who are members of the organized militia has frequently been short-sighted and unpatriotic. Service in the National Guard means a sacrifice of time and money. It has in the past not infrequently meant a sacrifice of business opportunity as well.

Two indications that a change is taking place in public sentiment may be cited as an example which may profitably be followed. Colonel Samuel P. Colt, President of the United States Rubber Company, has announced that the executive committee of that corporation has voted to approve of all its employees joining the local militia or the Naval Reserve. In the statement issued by Colonel Colt to the press he states that the pay of such employees shall be continued while they are engaged in militia duty, and that their annual tour of duty will not interfere with their regular vacations. This important statement affects 55,000 employees of the United States Rubber system. Simultaneously the International Trust Company of Boston, Massachusetts, has taken similar action. "It is time employers showed their patriotism by doing rather than by talking," said Charles D. Bancroft, President of the Trust Company. "Talk will never recruit our State militia half so much as real action. Employed men who receive $25 a week will be paid $50 during the week they are in camp; in addition they will have

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two more weeks of vacation when the week on duty is ended and will receive their salary during that time too."

Perhaps the prejudice against granting time off for militia duty arose from a remembrance of the time when there was more picnic and less work than exists to-day in the National Guard. That the civilian soldier who spends ten days or two weeks in the service of the State is assured of very strenuous activity does not need a demonstration to any one who has watched our modernized militia at work.

THE CAMP AT PLATTSBURGH

The six hundred and fifty college boys and high school graduates who have been engaged in training for the duties of officers of volunteers in the camp at Plattsburgh, New York, will doubtless also be glad to give testimony as to the strenuous demand made upon the modern soldier. For five weeks these young men have been drilled in military formation, taught the essentials of marksmanship with rifles and rapid-fire guns, and been instructed in the work of cavalry and field artillery, in camp sanitation and tactics. They have dug trenches, built bomb-proof dugouts and bridges, and they have found it a man's job rearranging the face of mother earth in the hot sun.

They have had with them, as companions in labor, detachments from the Thirtieth United States Infantry and the Second United States Cavalry, and they have labored under the command of some of the most competent officers in the regular army. Each of the boys in this students' regiment who reaches a certain mark of efficiency will receive a certificate and his name will be filed as "available for service" in the War Department at Washington. Such a certificate will not increase the obligation of the holder to military service, but it will assure to him a position of command in case the need arises for calling volunteers to the colors.

This five weeks' camp for students will be followed by another for business men still available for military service. The second encampment has been largely promoted by the college graduates in New York City through their various clubs. Of these successful experiments in preparing the country against war in a manner in accord with the best democratic tradition The Outlook will have more to say. Next week we hope to publish some editorial correspondence from Plattsburgh.

THE END OF THE BECKER CASE

The sordid story which began in 1912 with Herman Rosenthal's accusation of graft against Charles Becker, a lieutenant of the New York police force in charge of the strong-arm squad for the suppression of gambling, which burst in full upon public attention with the assassination of Rosenthal before the Hotel Metropole, which dragged through the courts in the trial of the gunmen who did the deed and in the two trials of Becker for his complicity in the crime, came to an end with the electrocution of Becker on July 30 in the State prison at Sing Sing.

The four gunmen, products of the city slums, who fired the fatal shot, were executed more than a year ago. Becker himself, through District Attorney Whitman's persistence in tracking down the automobile in which the gunmen escaped, and through his discovery of the fact that a totally different number had been placed on the police blotter in the station under Becker's charge, was first convicted of murder in the first degree on October 24, 1912, after a trial lasting seventeen days. On May 23, 1914, after a new trial had been granted by the Court of Appeals, Becker was once more convicted. On May 25 of this year the Court of Appeals refused to grant him a third trial. Just before his execution Supreme Court Justice Ford again denied him the right to another trial. The denial of his appeal for pardon or commutation of sentence made to ex-District Attorney Whitman, now Governor of the State, destroyed his last hope for life.

What can we learn from this story of trust betrayed, of dishonor in high places, and of a three years' legal battle over a crime which demanded immediate retribution? Certainly the law did not come out unscathed from this controversy. It is a familiar story, but it will bear repetition until it is remedied—we are very much behind England in our administration of criminal law. The efficiency of punishment as a deterrent to crime is largely based upon the swiftness and sureness of justice rather than the severity of the penalty inflicted. Becker is dead; but who can deny that whatever social effect may result from his execution would have been trebled had his death come within a reasonable interval after the com-

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mission of his crime? The case is significant, not because it is an exception, but because it is typical of the process of American law.

THE FRACTIOUS BLACK REPUBLIC

Haiti has broken out again. In the insurrection, riots, wholesale executions, assassinations, and anarchy there the United States is deeply concerned. Apart from all questions of humanity, this country is bound by its own interests and by the interests of other nations, which it is under obligation to protect, to do all that it can to restore and maintain at least a semblance of order in that land. It is thus in accordance with its duty that the United States Government has already landed marines in Port-au-Prince.

Last week we reported the assassination of President Guillaume. The assassination was accompanied with a revolting exhibition of bloodthirstiness. The lives of foreigners were in danger. The French Legation had been violated. On the same day Admiral Caperton, who had been in command of the United States cruiser Washington at Cape Haitien, reached Port-au-Prince and sent marines to protect the French Legation. On the next day two American sailors among the officers in control were killed by the mob. The attack in which these young men lost their lives was easily repulsed. On August 3, six days after the assassination, and a little over a week after the outbreak began, five hundred more marines were brought on the battle-ship Connecticut from Philadelphia and Norfolk. From the time that Admiral Caperton reached Port-au-Prince the United States has been in virtual control of the Republic of Haiti.

It appears that the action in this case was taken largely on Admiral Caperton's own responsibility and initiative. The event illustrates how much this country must at times depend upon the judgment, discretion, courage, and administrative ability of its naval officers. It is needless to say, of course, that Admiral Caperton continues in control only under the authorization of the Administration at Washington. We hope that the President and the Secretary of the Navy will recognize the opportunity of service that is presented to the United States in the present occupation of Haiti by American forces. A withdrawal without the adoption of a definite plan for a permanent settlement of the troubled conditions in Haiti would be deplorable.

That such a permanent settlement is needed cannot be questioned by those who recall the history of this Negro Republic.

SANTO DOMINGO AND HAITI

The island of Haiti, or, as it is sometimes called, San Domingo, or Santo Domingo, is divided into two unequal parts by a line of highlands running from the north to the south. The eastern and western portions of the islands thus separated have from the earliest days been distinct. The eastern end was largely settled by the Spanish, the western end largely by the French.

The eastern end is known as Santo Domingo or the Dominican Republic. Its foreign affairs are now largely under the control of the United States by virtue of a treaty under which the United States collects the customs, pays out of the money received the debts of the Republic, and turns the remainder over to the Republic's Government. It is this eastern end of the island that was involved in the Santo Domingo scandal which culminated a week or so ago in the resignation of the American Minister to that Republic.

The western end of the island consists of the Republic of Haiti. It is a nation of blacks. The history of this portion of the island is one of buccaneers, slave-traders, corruptionists, of tyranny, insurrection, massacres. It has been told in a vivid fashion by T. Lothrop Stoddard in his book entitled "The French Revolution in San Domingo." In early days the western end of the island was called San Domingo, as distinguished from the other and Spanish end, Santo Domingo. It was a French colony, and was treated by the government of the old régime in France, as colonies in those days were all treated, as a mere source of benefit to the mother country. In population the African slaves and their offspring, black or mulatto, overwhelmingly predominated.

The sentiments of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which were exalted during the period of the French Revolution, had their effect in San Domingo, now Haiti. The result, which is a testimony to the danger of sentiment uncoupled with wisdom, was a revolt of the blacks which wiped out the whites almost as completely as any people ever were exterminated. The end of this revolt was a mas-

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sacre in which women and little children were hunted down and smashed and stabbed with the utmost savagery.

From that time, in 1805, to the present the control of this end of the island has been in the hands of the Negroes. The history of this black Republic has been almost uniformly one of anarchy. In the last two years there have been six so-called presidents. As far as real government is concerned, it would have made very little difference if there had been fifteen, or none at all. Yet this part of the island is so rich in resources that it cannot be ignored as a mere plague spot. Commercial interests there require the protection of some kind of power.

The United States has told the European nations that it cannot tolerate the extension of their governments to new territory on this side of the Atlantic. It has said this in its own interest and in the interest of democracy in both the American continents. This position of the United States obliges it to see that the interests of those European governments are in some way protected and safeguarded, for the United States cannot act as a dog in the manger. What has now been happening in Haiti has given new occasion for the American people to assume with courage the obligation which circumstances have placed upon them.

The black Republic has been a failure. In the interest of humanity, justice, and common sense, the United States should establish a permanent control over the affairs of Haiti. To allow that country to relapse once more into barbarism, only to face again the problem at some time in the near future, would be in no respect to serve the interests of the Haitians, and would be to shirk a duty that this country owes to itself, to its neighbors, and to the nations of Europe.

THE NEW PLAN AS TO MEXICO

After two months of waiting to see whether any result would come from President Wilson's former declaration to the effect that the Mexican factions must unite upon some plan for composing their difficulties, ceasing war, and agreeing upon some way to establish a responsible government in Mexico, our Administration has rightly concluded that no such results are in sight. Carranza, whose forces are once more in Mexico City, appears to have the better of the fighting, and Villa has retired northward and is said by his opponents to be in poor condition as regards men and munitions. As might be expected, the Carranza faction is accordingly in no mood to accept compromise, and demands instead recognition of itself as in control. Naturally, also, Villa and his followers now profess willingness to enter into council with Mexican leaders generally, but are not in the least disposed to admit Carranza to this conference. In short, the general condition in Mexico is still hopeless, and the suffering of Mexicans, Americans, and other foreign residents is deplorable in the extreme.

It will be remembered that what President Wilson announced as the American intention, if his warning failed, was not intervention, but his belief that the United States would then be obliged to consider what steps were necessary to establish good government in Mexico.

The plan which it is proposed to follow was informally and incompletely announced early last week—a plan to be discussed at the international conference called to meet on Thursday, August 5, by Secretary Lansing. It seems to be an extension of the so-called A B C policy. Representatives, not only of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, but of three other Latin-American countries, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Guatemala, will at this conference discuss with representatives of the United States the question as to what steps may be taken jointly or under joint authority to bring Mexico to its senses and to establish a government which may be recognized as responsible. No doubt the United States has given assurances to the six Latin-American countries that it has no intention of permanent occupation or territorial aggression, and no doubt also the six countries will join in such assurances to Mexico and to the world. It is also practically certain that before any positive action to bring physical pressure to bear upon Mexico a final opportunity will be given to Mexico to find for itself some method of uniting upon a temporary President under whose auspices a fair election may be held. It is also regarded as probable that before any actual intervention is undertaken an attempt will be made, by placing a general embargo on arms and ammunition, to make further warfare impossible.

The only novel feature about this plan is the invitation to the three last-named Latin-American countries to join the movement. Joint action between the United States and the

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three strongest and most stable governments in South America has long been agitated. Nearly two years ago (November, 1913) the plan was discussed in The Outlook, and it was then noted that Mr. Charles H. Sherrill, former Minister to Argentina for the United States, ex-President Roosevelt, Mr. John Barrett, and others approved the idea. Many American statesmen and many journals have since advocated the plan as feasible and practicable. At the Niagara Conference it was at least shown to be possible to bring the A B C countries and our own together in a common effort. At that time, to be sure, the delegates to the Conference had no positive powers whatever—they merely formed an advisory council; and, as their advice could not be put into effect without the joint agreement of the warring factions in Mexico, the Niagara Conference had little or no practical result.

ACTION NEEDED IN MEXICO

The lesson of this in the present juncture is that what is needed is not a diplomatic conference or an international congress but a definite agreement between the leading countries of this continent, which have an interest in South American and Mexican affairs, to take action jointly in behalf of security and peace on the continent. For action a small committee is better than a large one. It may at least be questioned whether the addition of the three countries now invited to confer with the larger nations will conduce to action. Until we have before us the fuller statement undoubtedly to be made at the meeting of the Conference it will be wise to reserve final conclusions as to this point.

Undoubtedly the Administration is at the beginning of a new and important change in its attitude toward the Mexican question. Its long-continued inaction, its vacillation when it did act, and its apparent inability to see that to endure the anarchy in Mexico, the wrongs and outrages upon Americans, and the barbarous and endless warfare between factions was not the way to make things better, but, on the other hand, was sure to make them worse—all this tried the patience of those who knew the facts about Mexico and felt the responsibility of the United States. The occupation of Vera Cruz, not on the high ground of restoring peace and good government in Mexico, but for formal reparation of a minor injury, was followed by its evacuation at the exact time when the presence of our forces in Vera Cruz might have had a determining effect on the situation. If to-day we still had control in Vera Cruz and over the route to Mexico City, any action to be agreed upon at the Conference now called would be easy of execution, and any demands made by that conference would be taken seriously by Carranza. As it is, to accomplish anything of immediate value will be difficult. And what is needed for Mexico is action rather than talk.

THE JAPANESE CABINET CRISIS

The reports of the recent Cabinet crisis in Japan are so lacking in detail that it is difficult to comment intelligently on the situation. During the recent elections there were many charges of bribery. It now appears that Viscount Oura, Minister of the Interior, was accused of accepting a bribe of five thousand dollars offered by a candidate who was standing for election to the Diet, as the price for keeping a rival candidate out of the field; and two representatives in the same body were charged with accepting bribes to support the Government in its campaign for increasing the army.

The Minister of Justice, Baron Ozaki, a man of intelligence and force, formerly a student at one of the English universities, a very able Mayor of Tokyo for a number of years and a leader among the radicals, announced his determination to push the investigation wherever it might lead, and it has apparently led to a member of the Cabinet. His resignation was followed by that of Count Okuma, the Premier, and by all the other Ministers, the Prime Minister holding himself responsible for the acts of the members of his Cabinet, and the entire Cabinet dividing the responsibility with him.

A number of years ago, when a plot to assassinate the Emperor was uncovered, Prince Katsura, then Prime Minister, at once offered his resignation to the Emperor on the ground that it was the first time in the history of Japan that a conspiracy to kill an Emperor had been made, and that, as he was Prime Minister, his Government must be charged with the responsibility for such an occurrence. The Emperor not only refused to accept the resignation, but made it the occasion, it is reported, of deepening the attachment of the Prime Minister by his generosity, and by charging himself with the

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responsibility. In the present instance the resignations, after being referred to the Elder Statesmen, were declined. The incident shows that the Japanese Government is sensitive to offenses of this kind, and that, as in the instance of accusations brought a year ago or more against certain high officials, including a former member of the Cabinet and an admiral, neither influence nor position saves the offender from punishment.

The feeling of resentment in China over what the Chinese regard as the oppressiveness of some of the privileges recently demanded by Japan, and granted by the Chinese Government, has led to an extensive boycott of Japanese business in China, and the Japanese Government has been taking measures to allay this antagonism. During the discussion, and, in fact, for months past, there has been considerable criticism of Baron Kato, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Baron Kato is an able man, and served Japan with great distinction as Minister to London. He is clear-headed and forcible, and in meeting criticism and answering questions in the Diet has much of Mr. Asquith's resourcefulness and readiness. But many Japanese regard his manner as unfortunately aggressive and lacking in tact.

A SHERIFF WHO DID HIS DUTY

Every one who has read the newspaper accounts of the recent strike at Bayonne, New Jersey, knows about Sheriff Kinkead, a portrait of whom is printed on another page of this issue. With an enthusiasm which has had its humorous as well as its serious phases these accounts have pointed out that a sheriff can, when he really means to, accomplish a great deal more in preserving order and restoring peace than most people have supposed. In this case Sheriff Kinkead plunged into the situation with vigor; arrested offenders on both sides with impartiality, and at one time in a wholesale fashion; urged, pleaded, and threatened until hired guards and excited strikers alike saw that he "meant business" and obeyed him. All this was a splendid illustration of the principle that an executive officer, whether he be President or sheriff, should not wait to find explicit authority to act, provided only the action he proposes to take does not violate any law directly and at the same time lies within the general scope of his authority.

What is a sheriff? What is a sheriff's authority? The office is one of the most ancient in Anglo-Saxon countries. The name sheriff comes, of course, from the old English "shire." Sheriffs under another name were known in King Alfred's day, and in England the office has come to be one of great honor and dignity, second in executive power only to the office of Lord Lieutenant. Every one remembers that Walter Scott was a sheriff. Like the office of the Lord Lieutenant, that of sheriff has come in Great Britain to be chiefly honorary, with the detail work assigned to under-sheriffs and to local county or municipal officers. Formerly in England the sheriff was elected; at one time in some counties the office was hereditary; now he is appointed by the King. In this country he is always, or nearly always, an elective officer.

But whatever the specific duties of a sheriff are, as regulated first by common law and now by statute, everywhere we find it laid down that his first and most important duty is "to keep the peace." This is exactly what Sheriff Kinkead did in Bayonne, and he won praise and the thanks of the community because he interpreted those words in a broad, sensible, efficient way. We hope that other sheriffs will follow his example; that they will recognize the fact that they have power to act without being pushed into action by writs, orders, or statutory provisions; and that a "peace officer" of active mind and who is resourceful in time of trouble is one of the best assets that any county can have.

A REVERSION TO SAVAGERY

The accounts of the burning at the stake of a Negro in the town of Temple, in Texas, on July 31, are disheartening to those who had begun to hope that this particular form of savagery had ceased to recur. There is little or no doubt that this Negro, Will Stanley, deserved death; but it is at least equally true that there was no reason whatever to suppose that the courts of Texas would not try him fairly and convict him on proper evidence. The crowd of those who watched his agony, who pushed him back into the flames, who hung his charred body to a telephone pole, had none of the excuses which could be made for an old-time mining camp where Judge Lynch was the only power to suppress crime. They plunged into this ghastly barbarism, not because they feared a

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failure of justice, but from insensate rage and fierce race hatred.

The published accounts of the affair are much more explicit about the sickening details of the lynching than they are about the crime. Stanley is said to have killed three children and to have assaulted their mother. If the charge is true, there is nothing too strong to be said as to the man's depravity; no one could be surprised if in the red heat of indignation he had been lynched when he was caught. But there is a cold-blooded horror about the story of his being torn from prison two or three days later, dragged to the public square where thousands of men and women had collected, and there deliberately burned alive—"automobiles loaded with onlookers," "trees filled with boys," "little girls scattered through the crowd," are some of the descriptive phrases. In foreign countries when such incidents were quoted before the war as typically American—and they constantly were so quoted—an American was hard put to it to explain the savage acts. After this war such things may be the not unreasonable reply to charges of war atrocity.

This case naturally brings up the inquiry as to lynching the country over. The record kept by the Tuskegee Institute shows that for the first six months of 1915 there were 34 lynchings in the United States, an increase of 13 over the same period in 1914. Of these 34 persons lynched 24 were Negroes, 10 white. Of the 24 Negroes only six were charged with rape, while among the causes given were "stealing cotton" and "charged with stealing a cow." The fact is that the phrase "the usual cause," used whenever the charge is that of rape, is far less common than most people suppose.

Lynching is sometimes excusable in a semi-civilized community; it is disgraceful and barbarous in the United States; such an incident as that in Temple is also revolting and inconceivably abominable.

AUGUSTUS THOMAS AS A MANAGER

The selection of Mr. Augustus Thomas to take the place of the late Charles Frohman in the direction of the group of theaters associated with that very interesting and able man gives the assurance of the production of good plays admirably staged, for Mr. Thomas brings to his new and difficult position long experience and distinguished ability as a playwright and much experience in dealing with the stage. Readers of The Outlook will remember the delightful autobiographic talk which, at its urgent invitation, he gave them a few years ago. A portrait of Mr. Thomas appears on another page.

His road to success was arduous and exacting. Born in St. Louis, as a young man he went into railway work and has described very vividly his dinner-pail luncheons in company with other railway employees. Then he became a newspaper writer. His first play was produced in 1889. Since that time he has written nearly a hundred plays, many of which have achieved large popularity. Among these are "Colorado," "Alabama," "The Earl of Pawtucket," "The Witching Hour," "The Harvest Moon," and "As a Man Thinks." Mr. Thomas is an accomplished playwright. He understands the mechanism of the art, and he knows instinctively, as well as by practice, the difference between the telling of a story in a novel and on the stage. He is also an artist in his ability to indicate character with dramatic distinctness and to develop situations so as to show their relation to one another and their action and reaction on people. He is, moreover, a thinker. The great majority of his plays have a background of motive which commands the interest of those to whom the play is much more than a matter of amusement.

Mr. Thomas has always treated the drama in a serious spirit, but with a light hand and with great skill. He has been deeply interested in politics, is a warm personal friend of President Wilson, and could have entered the diplomatic service if he had chosen to accept the appointment of United States Minister to Belgium. He has been prominent in political conventions, has presided at many public functions, political and otherwise, and is a speaker of charm and delightful humor.

Mr. Thomas's work in the practical management of the theater will be entirely that of the art director. It is said that in accepting this position he makes a great sacrifice; but one of the qualities which endear Mr. Thomas to many people is his genius for friendship; and it is largely due to this quality that he has been persuaded to accept a position which must interfere with his ability as a producer of plays. Those who heard or read his touching speech at the recent meeting in memory of Mr. Frohman will quite understand why he has consented to

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devote himself to the continuation of the work of that brilliant manager.

JUSTICE FOR THE POOR IN NEW YORK CITY

Since there went into effect on July 1 a law reorganizing the inferior criminal courts of New York City, it has led the cities of the country in the efficiency of its "courts of the poor."

These inferior criminal courts, as the twenty-nine magistrate courts (commonly called police courts) and the Courts of Special Sessions are termed, handle together nearly a quarter of a million cases each year in Greater New York. They thereby touch the lives of about one million persons, the majority of whom get their only conception of justice from the decisions of these courts. It is interesting to see how this gigantic responsibility is being met by our largest city.

One valuable feature of the new law, which is the result of the recommendation of the Committee on Criminal Courts of the Charity Organization Society, is the creation of a special court to handle all criminal cases in which either a State or city department is the complainant. Now the heads of the administrative departments of the city and State have a magistrate available with the specialized knowledge necessary for handling the highly technical questions involved in violations of such laws as the Tenement-House Law or Fire Prevention Law.

Another good feature is the establishment of one Board of City Magistrates for the entire city, replacing the former system by which there was one division of police courts for Manhattan and the Bronx, and another for Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond, with no proper interchange of records and information, so that a man arrested for the first time in Brooklyn might have gone free as a first offender although he had a record of a dozen convictions in Manhattan.

A third valuable reform is the separation of the Children's Court from the Court of Special Sessions, where it had suffered in matters of policy through being amenable to regulations intended for an adult criminal tribunal. The most important step taken toward making the wheels of justice run evenly, however, was in the administration of the ordinary police courts, which bear the bulk of the burden of meting out justice to the poor.

The poor of the city had long been suffering from the results of a rigid and arbitrary delineation in legal jurisdiction. A magistrate, before whom all criminals are first arraigned, could summarily try what are classified as "minor offenses," but he was powerless to dispose of "misdemeanors." These had to be held for a higher court—the Court of Special Sessions. Yet many of these wrongful acts called misdemeanors are of the most trivial nature. The line of demarcation, though arbitrary, is irregular and has no great moral significance. For instance, prostitution or pickpocketing come under "minor offenses," to be given a quick trial by the magistrate, whereas mixing garbage with ashes or using a street-car transfer which you pick up on the street—such crimes as these are "misdemeanors" and were subject to the delays and red tape of a double trial. This was rather hard on the poor janitor who through ignorance alone violated some local ordinance, or the foot-sore laborer who saw a chance to ride and thoughtlessly took it; for these double trials meant an average of six days spent in the Tombs Prison *before the offender was tried* by Special Sessions, often to be followed by only a small fine or, as in hundreds of cases yearly, acquittal or discharge.

By the new law, however, a magistrate, sitting as a court of special sessions, may try and dispose of most of these petty misdemeanor cases, provided both the defendant and the prosecution are willing. This effects both a great economic saving to the city and an opportunity for the poor man to get a hearing with efficient despatch rather than with delays out of all proportion to the importance of his case.

THE FLORIDA NATIONAL FOREST

The Outlook has repeatedly had its attention called to the so-called slaughter of pine in the Florida National Forest. It appears that a Federal law permits the leasing of timber and turpentine rights inside the Government reservations; that after the turpentine is taken the tree becomes brittle and is blown down at the first strong wind; that the burning of the woods every spring, allowed by law, causes these trees, scarred by the ax and with turpentine and pitch flowing, to become columns of flame and to fall by the thousands.

The United States Forest Service explains that, in order to conserve by wise use the

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resources of the National forests, turpentine rights in the Florida National Forest have been leased for three years, but that no trees smaller than ten inches in diameter four and one-half feet from the ground are allowed to be tapped, and that, in order to protect the trees, the operator is required to rake the litter away from the trees in the spring and to burn up the débris. The practice has gone on six years, and it is believed that the trees can be handled for at least twelve years. When they have ceased to yield gum in paying quantities, they will be felled and sold for lumber. In this way the full value of the timber is obtained.

The private owner, on the other hand, is mainly interested in getting the maximum yield within a short time, hence has adopted a wasteful system which kills the trees quickly and makes them inflammable. This, together with the tapping of trees often as small as four inches in diameter, has caused the protests. As far as the Florida National Forest is concerned, the protests that have come to us refer undoubtedly only to private or to alienated lands within it; but as these private lands were secured from the Federal Government before the National Forest was created, the Forest Service has no jurisdiction over them and therefore cannot prevent the abuse. Alienated lands are:

> All patented, entered, or granted lands the title to which has passed from or is in the process of passing from the United States under the different laws providing for the sale, entry, and disposition of Government lands. Granted lands include such lands as are granted to the railroads, whether surveyed or unsurveyed, and grants to the States of school sections where these sections were surveyed prior to the date of the withdrawal for National Forest purposes.

As to fire, it is a question of slowly changing the point of view of the people in the State. Little progress in protection, we believe, will be made until the State Legislature enacts a forest fire law similar to that in force in the States where the people are taking care of their forest resources; and this now includes both Northern and Southern States, the latter being Maryland, the Virginias, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Texas.

THE TAXATION OF LAND AND BUILDINGS

Two years ago the Pennsylvania Legislature established a law empowering cities of the second class to try an experiment in something which seemed to approach the principle of the single tax. The new law made a separation of land and buildings for taxable purposes. The buildings were to be subject to a gradual reduction of one-tenth in taxation until a minimum of fifty per cent should be reached. Nothing was said, however, as to how the total deficiency in taxation should be offset. One would suppose that it might be offset by a like increase in the tax on land. In Pennsylvania, however, there is no tax levied on land for State use; the tax on land is for local purposes only. There would seem to be a definite loss, then, in the total tax collected in Pennsylvania unless the incidence should be shifted from one domain to another, just as the Federal Government has attempted to shift the burden of taxation from sugar and other commodities to an income tax.

Be this as it may, the new Pennsylvania law was intolerable to the vested interests in Pittsburgh and Scranton, cities of the second class. Delegates from those cities came to Harrisburg, the State capital, and were heard by legislative committees. Though the onslaught on the new law was opposed by the largest group of protestants that had yet been heard on any piece of legislation in Pennsylvania, the Legislature changed front and passed a repealer bill.

This has now been vetoed by Governor Brumbaugh. The Outlook had to condemn his veto of the bill repealing the Full Crew Law. His veto of the bill repealing the tax law is in line with his attitude in securing the passage of the Workmen's Compensation, Miners', and Child Labor Bills. Aside from the principle involved, two reasons impelled the Governor to this particular veto: first, as the law has scarcely been tried, it is well to allow it to operate until a commanding judgment decrees its fate; second, to disturb it when such an overwhelming preponderance of opinion favors it would surely be unwise.

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN'S AND GENERAL GORGAS'S VIEWS

The opinion of Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, on the Pennsylvania law is of particular interest, as Professor Seligman adversely criticised a somewhat similar attempt at legislation in New York State two years ago. Writing to The Outlook, Professor Seligman says that the situation in New York was entirely different from that of Pennsylvania, and that

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the Pennsylvania situation is confused by the fact that the old real estate tax system in Pittsburgh was absolutely inequitable. New York State never had the old Pittsburgh system, and therefore does not need a new law to replace it. In removing the injustice of classification, however, the Pennsylvania law included the exemption of improvements, and this does not meet Professor Seligman's approval. He favors placing an additional tax on the increment of land value, but does not favor exempting improvements from taxation.

Certainly the Pennsylvania legislation calls renewed attention to the proposal to reduce taxation on buildings, a proposal not identical with the single tax as propounded by the late Henry George; it is not a single tax, but a redistribution of the realty tax. Most persons admit that present realty taxation is unfair—that is, most persons with the possible exception of real estate speculators.

A prominent adherent of a revised system of taxation is Surgeon-General Gorgas. Such a shift, he declares, would force all land into use, would stimulate building, would lower rents, reduce overcrowding, and, finally, would add to the wage-earner's income. Writing to The Outlook on this subject, General Gorgas speaks of his experience in Havana and Panama during the past fifteen years as giving an added reason for his belief in lessening taxation on buildings—the reason of sanitation. Dr. Gorgas asserts that reduced taxation on buildings would tend to increase the number of buildings, and hence would give more room and cheaper room to the poor. In particular, he thinks that it would tend to put vacant lots to the best use—that is to say, to cover them with useful buildings. To a city sanitarian vacant lots have hitherto been one of the great nuisances. A final result in sanitation from the reformed taxation would, in his opinion, be to give employment to more men in building houses on these vacant lots and thus to lessen poverty, for the greatest cause of the large death rate in our big cities is the excessive poverty of the lowest classes.

SCHOOL-CHILDREN AS CENSUS-TAKERS

That tireless and irrepressible social servant and inventor William R. George, of the George Junior Republics, has devised a new way of making boys and girls useful to themselves and to the country.

This plan consists in making the boys and girls in the higher grades of the public grammar schools quasi-official census-takers. It is proposed to use first the older pupils in the country schools in the taking of an agricultural census. As to the public utility of such a census there can be little doubt. The method of Mr. George's plan would be as follows: The teachers would hold competitive examinations in the two or three higher grades for the honor of taking the census of the district. The youngsters who were the successful competitors would each be assigned his or her section of the district and would be given badges to indicate their positions during the school term or the school year. Then, whenever a request came from the United States Department of Agriculture or the State Department of Agriculture or the United States Census Bureau, these boys and girls would be sent out to get the desired information. Such inquiries and observations would not be likely to take at most more than two hours of their time, and the educational content of the work would be greater than a like time in the classroom.

No one will deny that an important element in mental training consists in learning to make correct observations and to draw correct conclusions from such observations. It is often and justly claimed that the school, and especially the country school, is too much divorced from the actual conditions and needs of the community in which it is located. Certainly few things could be better calculated to train the children in making correct observations and drawing from such observations correct conclusions and in arousing an intelligent interest in their local surroundings than this census-taking.

The plan was first tried last fall in the West Dryden School, in central New York, the school which Mr. George himself attended as a boy. The successful candidates in this school were given blanks to fill out which called for answers to these questions: number of men, women, and children in each family; number of acres owned or rented; number of cattle, horses, hogs, poultry, and other live stock; amount of hay, oats, potatoes, wheat, buckwheat, corn, and other grains grown, as well as any miscellaneous facts of consequence. A number of the young census-takers put down under this last heading the number, kind, and amounts of fruits grown, if any, and in some instances they put down, too, the forest products. The time consumed in securing the information varied from three-

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quarters of an hour to two hours and a half.

The teacher of the school said, in concluding his letter to Mr. George, in which he transmitted the reports compiled by his pupils: "They were enthusiastic and painstaking and eager to do more."

THE NEW YORK CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The four papers on the Constitutional Convention published elsewhere in this issue represent the attitudes of the four great political parties in New York State—the Progressive, Socialist, Democratic, and Republican. We express our thanks and those of our readers to these gentlemen for their consent, at our urgent request, to present their views respecting the essentials of a State constitution in articles so brief as these. The limits of our space compelled this abbreviation.

The newspaper reports of all sorts of proposals, wise and otherwise, with which the Convention has been deluged have made many observers sympathize with the pessimistic opinions of the Hartford "Courant:"

> The more we read of the crazy schemes proposed for the New York Constitutional Convention, the more we feel that, if a quarter of them are adopted, the citizens will make a big mistake if they neglect to throw the whole draft into the discard.

We are inclined to think—at least to hope—that this judgment is erroneous as well as premature. When the Pennsylvania Tunnel was built under the North River, the engineers were required to give consideration to and report upon every scheme which was submitted to them, and the folly of some of the schemes surpasses belief. Nevertheless the sifting process was worth while, and out of even the follies some benefit was gained. If the Constitutional Convention succeeds in sifting out the crazy schemes with which it has been flooded, the liberty to submit them may prove to have been a real advantage to the people. The publicity of folly is sometimes the best cure for it.

The four articles which we publish indicate that the leaders of the four great parties, and we hope also the rank and file, are substantially agreed upon certain essential principles involved in constitution-making.

Lord Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," gives an interesting characterization of modern American State constitutions:

> Europeans conceive of a constitution as an instrument, usually a short instrument, which creates a frame of government, defines its departments and powers, and declares the "primordial rights" of the subject or citizen as against the rulers. An American State constitution does this, but does more, and, in most cases, infinitely more. It deals with a variety of topics which in Europe would be left to the ordinary action of the Legislature or of administrative authorities, and it pursues these topics into a minute detail hardly to be looked for in a fundamental instrument. . . . We find minute provisions regarding the management and liabilities of banking companies, of railways, or of corporations generally, regulations as to the salaries of officials, the quorum of courts sitting in banco, the length of time for appealing, the method of changing the venue, the publication of judicial reports. . . . We even find the method prescribed in which stationery and coals for the use of the Legislature shall be contracted for, and provisions for fixing the rates which may be charged for the storage of corn in warehouses.

Our correspondents are absolutely agreed in repudiating this method of constitution-making and in their definition of the true function of a State constitution as distinguished from legislation, and substantially agreed upon the certain fundamental provisions which they desire to see incorporated in the new Constitution of the State. They are agreed:

That "the framework of the State government should be so broadly stated that ample room remains within which to adapt ourselves to needs as they arise;" that the "guiding principle is, not to attempt to tie the hands of a bad Legislature, but make it essential for the people to elect a good one;" that the Constitution "may be fairly considered analogous to the skeleton of the human body around and within which legislative acts, local ordinances, and court decisions will construct the living, operating tissue of the government of the State and its local subdivisions."

That "not only ought the State to be free to deal with every question as seems best at the time, but the cities ought to have sufficient home rule to enable them to deal with their own peculiar and special problems unhampered by the rural villages;" that cities should be "free to choose their forms of local government and free to administer their

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local affairs without legislative dictation," and that, while it is true that "the line between State and municipal interest cannot always be drawn, . . . a home rule provision can be drawn so as to free all such functions from legislative interference, leaving State-wide matters under legislative control." On this point the Committee on Cities reported last week a plan giving to the cities of the State a larger measure of home rule than they have heretofore enjoyed, including the right, subject to the power of the Legislature, to enact general or special laws, to frame their own charters and pass local laws.

Respecting the authority and function of the executive, the difference of opinion between our correspondents seems to us more apparent than real. Both Democrat and Progressive are agreed that the Governor should have the power to appoint the heads of departments, and for their conduct should be responsible to the people; and though our Republican correspondent thinks that "the Governor has all the authority necessary for the proper work of an executive," we judge from the context that this is said rather in opposition to conferring upon him any greater share in the legislative work of the government than in opposition to the simplification of the administrative work and its concentration under the Governor's control. But as we write press reports from Albany indicate that the real battle between responsible and invisible government is about to take place in the Convention, and that it depends upon this question: Shall there be a Governor of limited power, with, as now, some hundred and fifty different departments not responsible to him, or a Governor with an appointing power analogous to that which the Federal Constitution confers upon the President, and with not over a dozen departments, whose heads, appointed by the Governor, are responsible to him, and through him to the people? This question is likely to be the most important one which the Convention has to decide, and its decision will probably determine the question whether the people of the State should accept or reject the Convention's work. Our further judgment upon the work of the Convention we therefore reserve until next week, to accompany a letter from a staff correspondent, who will report from Albany for the benefit of our readers what are the action and spirit of the Convention.

THE EXPORT OF MUNITIONS

Almost at the same time last week correspondence between the United States and Great Britain and a communication from Austria to the United States were made public. The Austrian communication was sent several weeks ago, but its text was not issued in translation until August 1. The correspondence between Great Britain and the United States, which we summarize elsewhere in this issue, extended from July 14 to July 31. The British notes included in this correspondence are directed, not to American public opinion, but to the American Government. They are the reasoned arguments of an official addressed to the constituted authorities of a friendly nation. Very few Americans will read them. They are largely legal in character. There is no hint in them that the British Government is attempting to go over the heads of the American Administration in an appeal to the American people. The Austrian communication, on the other hand, though nominally addressed to the Government of the United States, is obviously intended to affect American public opinion.

In thus appealing to American public opinion the Government of Austria-Hungary shows astuteness. That Government must know very well that with the objects of Germany and Austria in this war the American people have no sympathy. The Governments of those countries also know that by the methods which Germany has used on land and sea, particularly in the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania, American public opinion has been alienated from the cause of the Teutonic empires. The Austrian Government has therefore wisely ignored both the objects of Germany and Austria and the methods which they have used to attain those objects, and has directed its appeal to American public opinion on a subject which appeals not to the reason but to the feelings. It has selected for its subject the export of munitions of war. Americans have been horrified at the very magnitude of the war and have wished to avoid being drawn into it, so the Austrian Government virtually says to America: If you wish to keep away from all association with this war and maintain your neutrality, prohibit the export of munitions. The Austrian Government skillfully refers to the Hague Conventions, to which it

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knows the American people are by their feelings of humanity attached, and says that those Conventions would not interfere with the prohibition of the export of munitions, because, according to all authorities on international law, "the neutral government is not permitted to allow unhindered trade in contraband of war if this trade assumes such character and proportions that the country's neutrality is thereby impaired." The Austrian Government then goes on to declare that the extent of American trade in munitions is such as to impair America's neutrality. The argument thus comes around to the point where it begins: that if America wishes to observe neutrality she should prohibit the export of munitions of war.

This appeal to American public opinion is skillful for another reason. Although our Government, even under Mr. Bryan, has not only denied that the prohibition of the export of munitions would be neutral, but has affirmed that it would be actually unneutral, the subject is still debated in this country; and when Congress meets it will probably be debated by Representatives and Senators. In his Special Correspondence on another page Mr. Whelpley quotes a Senator as saying that, although he is himself opposed to an embargo on arms, he would, if the matter came up in Congress, have to vote for such an embargo in response to the opinions of his constituency. It is to this unformed public opinion in America that Austria now appeals.

On a subject of this sort Americans should base their opinion, not on impulse and sentiment, but on reason and understanding.

In order to reach a sound conclusion on this subject, the American citizen who wants his country to be law-abiding, just, and wise should consider three questions concerning the export of munitions:

1. Is it lawful?
2. Is it right?
3. Is it expedient?

As to the lawfulness of the citizens of a neutral country dealing in munitions in time of peace or war there is absolutely no question. The lawfulness of such commerce has been affirmed again and again, and by such American authorities as Jefferson, Hamilton, Seward, Bayard, Blaine, Foster, Olney, and Hay. In every war belligerents have ordinarily attempted to secure for themselves whatever benefits they could. Germany is not the only country which has sought to prevent her enemies from getting munitions of war, but no belligerent has ever been able to show the unlawfulness of trade in such contraband. It would weary our readers for us to quote here the decisions that have been rendered in courts and by executive officers as to the lawfulness of such commerce. It is fair to say that no practice has been more specifically and uniformly upheld by international law. It is an unneutral act for a country to allow its citizens to sell to one belligerent what that country refuses to allow its citizens to sell to another belligerent. But this is not the case at present. Perhaps the tersest expression of the right is to be found in the words of Thomas Jefferson when he was Secretary of State. He said, in 1793, in an official communication: "Our citizens have been always free to make, vend, and export arms." Mr. Hay, when Secretary of State, said, in almost as terse language: "Neutrals in their own country may sell to belligerents whatever belligerents choose to buy." And by more than one authority, including Mr. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, it is pointed out into what tangle of law and practice the prohibition on commerce in arms would involve such a neutral country as the United States.

What Austria asks of us, therefore, is not to observe law already made, but on our own initiative and by our own independent action to make a special international law for her benefit.

But, though the export of arms may be lawful, the question still remains whether it is right. There are some things that the law allows which are wrong. Is this one of them? Those who hold that the making or export of arms in time of war is wrong must base their belief on the assumption that war itself is necessarily wrong, for if it is ever right to make war it is also right to make the instruments by which war is waged. We do not believe that American citizens who celebrate with pride the Fourth of July and Memorial Day will take the position that war is necessarily always wrong. If it was right to make war against the British Redcoats in 1776, if it was right to make war in defense of the Union in 1861, it was right to make the muskets for the Continentals and the rifles for the Army of the Potomac. And if it was right to make those arms, it was right for us to buy them from others and for others to sell them to us. The only ground on which an American who remembers the history of his country with pride can believe that it is

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wrong to export arms is that the particular belligerent to which those arms are sold is engaged in an unholy war. This position an individual can take, but he cannot ask his country to take that position without asking his country to become unneutral. So long, therefore, as an American citizen wishes his country to remain neutral, he must hold that it is in accordance with good morals as well as in accordance with law for fellow-countrymen of his to sell arms to a belligerent.

What is both lawful and right, however, may be inexpedient. Is it expedient for the United States to allow its citizens to sell arms to foreign nations at war? The United States cannot advocate in this matter a rule which cannot be universally applied. To oppose the selling of arms to other nations means to advocate the rule that no nation shall use any arms except those that it manufactures itself. This would mean that Switzerland, a little country surrounded by great nations, would have to tax itself for the maintenance of great arms factories if it were going to defend itself against enemies; it would mean that so long as the possibility of war and the consequent necessity of defensive war exist every country would have to adopt the militarism of Germany and establish for itself its Krupp works; that every country, no matter how devoted to peace it was, would have to keep armed to the teeth; it would mean specifically that the United States would have to deny itself the right to buy arms from other nations in time of war, and therefore would have to prepare at once great stores of ammunition and keep those stores of ammunition not only replenished but also renewed with every advance in the science of warfare. The very statement of this fact shows that a rule against the export of arms would be highly inexpedient.

Considerations of law, morals, and expediency alike, therefore, are all against the proposition to interfere with the commerce in arms.

RIKKI-TIKKI-TAVI

Have you ever read the story of "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi"? If not, read it. It is one of the best of the short stories of Rudyard Kipling, and Rudyard Kipling is one of the best short-story writers of our time or any time. It is the story of the great war that a mongoose fought single-handed against two deadly snakes in a big bungalow in India. Chuchundra, the muskrat, gave him advice; but Rikki-Tikki-Tavi did the real fighting. He was rather like a little cat in his fur and his tail, but quite like a weasel in his head and his habits. And he knew that the mongoose's business in life is to fight snakes. There were two big black cobras in the garden, Nag and Nagaina, Nag's wicked wife. How Rikki-Tikki-Tavi fought Nag and Nagaina and killed them and destroyed Nagaina's eggs and the little cobras which were just issuing from them, and thus saved the lives of the man and his wife and the little boy who occupied the bungalow, and how Chuchundra, who "never had spirit enough to run out into the middle of the room," gave counsels of peace but did nothing, the curious reader will find told in "The Second Jungle Book." We recall the story here simply for the purpose of the moral:

MORAL

So long as there are cobras in the world Rikki-Tikki-Tavi is a better national counselor than Chuchundra.

DEAD THEORY AND LIVING FACT

When the war broke out a year ago, there were two definite reactions in American public opinion.

One group of citizens, viewing the vast armies and the vaster conflict of principles across the seas, saw clearly for the first time in our own almost defenseless coasts and our slow-growing navy a vital menace to the Republic.

The second group, lighting their thoughts at the bale-fire of Europe, found in the titanic struggle nothing but an exploding of the theory that any protection against war can be found in arms, and a belief that in disarmament or its practical equivalent of inadequate armament lay our only safety. To the second group may be added those who, thinking Europe mad, believed that the sanity of the United States could be demonstrated only by a refusal to discuss or sanction an increase in our means of military protection. According to their view, it was the high mission of America to carry to Europe the balm of the quiet spirit, a mission the success of which would be fatally endangered if in any way we showed ourselves willing or ready to resist

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such an invasion as was then sweeping over war-stricken Belgium. Such a conception of the duty of the United States seemed based chiefly upon the thought that we were a people apart from the suffering nations of Europe. It was based, unconsciously perhaps, upon the idea that the violation of rights in Belgium had little or nothing to do with the maintenance of the rights of the United States. Down the pathway of the nations we were to pass secure from molestation because we had no means to molest; sanctified in our freedom because we had not protested against the violation of the freedom of our neighbors. On a more practical basis than this, still others lifted their voices against our adequate military preparation because they felt that the Europe whose life-blood had been poured out on the battlefields of Poland and France could never within our generation lift a finger to strike at us across the sea. To all those who pointed out to them the condition of our army and our navy they answered, "You ask us to prepare; we ask you, against whom?"

To these questions and doubts the torpedo that exploded in the side of the Lusitania made instant answer. First of all and most important, perhaps, it dramatically proved to the people of the United States that the rights of nations could not be safely sorted into geographical cubby-holes, leaving one country secure at the expense of the destruction of another. It brought home to the United States the unmistakable truth that we are one in a community of nations, with common rights and common interests. It taught us that the moral isolation upon which so many based a belief in our mission to deliver a bloodless salvation to Europe was founded not upon a condition but a theory. It showed us that we could not philanthropically secure the rights of others without first securing the rights which were our own. It showed us that we could not secure our own rights without the strength to make our protests effective. Not for aggression are we finding it necessary to prepare, but for the performance of the elemental duty of government, the maintenance of public safety.

It is not an abandonment of the principles of democracy which the situation demands, but a fulfillment of its ideals. It means no disproportionate application of National resources to military purposes, nor the slightest danger of inculcating militarism—which is nothing more or less than the subordination of civil authority to the military function.

What it does mean is the abandonment of our present practice of subordinating military need to political advantage.

It means the abandonment of obsolete military posts; it means the abandonment of navy-yards established, not for maintenance of battle-ships, but for repairing political fences.

It means the recognition by Congress of the need for a centralized and non-partisan military policy.

It means the establishment of a system of preparation which will place the chief responsibility for National protection where it belongs, and where it is placed in the Constitution, upon the citizenship of the country. It means a National recognition of the fact that a soldier is something more than an eloquent and patriotic biped, that he is of necessity a creature of training as well as of intent, a skilled workman who must be properly equipped with the tools of his trade rather than a casual laborer whose tools are his hands.

It means turning our regular army from a soldier storehouse into a soldier factory.

It means a well-balanced as well as a powerful navy, a navy built in accordance with expert opinion rather than civilian prejudice.

It means turning into an available reserve the vast resources of this country, the utility of which depends as much upon their organization as upon their existence.

In a recent article by Mr. Roosevelt in the "Metropolitan," to which The Outlook has already referred, is the apt quotation of the first six verses of the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel. The sixth verse reads, it will be remembered:

> But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

To-day it is the duty of the watchman to do more than blow the trumpet. It is the duty of the National Government to see that "a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms" is made a fact as well as a phrase. We are told that the Administration is to abandon its policy of watchful waiting along our Southern frontier. We know what grave complications may arise upon a single word of com-

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mand from some captain of a German submarine. With the possibilities that confront us, how much longer shall we persist in the policy of unpreparedness and ignorance, a policy which has lasted from the foundation of the Republic, and which has cost us more in blood, treasure, and needless war than anything else in our history?

CAN A CHILD TRUST THE LAW?

THE CASE OF JUDGE LINDSEY

THE OUTLOOK has already reported the trial of Judge Lindsey before Judge Perry, of the Second Judicial District of Colorado, on the charge of contempt of court. Because of the principles involved in the case and the prominence of the defendant, the decision of Judge Perry that Judge Lindsey was guilty merits the attention and the understanding of all those who are interested, not only in the vivid personality of the founder of the Juvenile Court of Colorado, but, what is more important, in the progress and maintenance of the ideals of the Juvenile Court itself. The decision of Judge Perry, if it is permitted to stand, will undoubtedly have a tremendous influence upon the whole juvenile court movement. That it will be contested and appealed by the defendant goes without question.

Perhaps before proceeding to a review of the arguments raised in the first trial it will be best to state briefly the facts of the case which brought Judge Lindsey into court.

Trouble for Judge Lindsey began when a Mrs. Bertha Wright was prosecuted in the district court of the city and county of Denver for the murder of her husband.

It appeared in evidence that he was a drinking, brutal man, and when intoxicated frequently beat her cruelly. On the day of the homicide he came home drunk, demanded entrance to their home, and the wife, fearing another beating at his hands, procured a revolver to defend herself. Her little son, Neal Wright, a bright, handsome boy, twelve years old, saw her action, and, in trying to get possession of the weapon, it was discharged while in the boy's hands, killing the father. These facts the boy swore to on the trial, which resulted in his mother's acquittal.

Immediately after the homicide the boy was brought to Judge Lindsey's Court by the Rev. Mr. Dorey, a minister of the Gospel, and given into his charge as a delinquent boy, and the Judge was requested to interrogate the child as to the facts surrounding the tragedy. Under the assurances on the part of Judge Lindsey—who saw the boy alone—that anything he might say would by the Judge be considered sacredly confidential, the boy told Judge Lindsey his story, and afterwards, in company with the Judge, he again at the house re-enacted the part he had taken in the affair. While doing so he asked the Judge, "They couldn't make you swear to anything I am telling you, could they, Judge?" To which Judge Lindsey replied, "Never; certainly not!"

After the child had testified on the trial, the District Attorney, John A. Rush, visited Judge Lindsey at his home and endeavored to ascertain what story the boy had told the Judge; and, failing in this, he demanded that Judge Lindsey go upon the witness-stand at the trial and tell what the boy had told him in confidence, for the purpose of impeaching the boy's testimony. This Judge Lindsey flatly refused to do, stating to the District Attorney that the conversations were confidential and privileged, and that for him to betray such confidence reposed in him would be a monstrous thing and wholly destroy the usefulness of the Juvenile Court. The District Attorney then left, promising not to call the Judge as a witness unless he was willing to testify, but immediately went to the Court and issued process commanding Judge Lindsey to appear as a witness. This the Judge at once did, but, when sworn, refused point-blank to testify, stating to the Judge, the Hon. John A. Perry, presiding, that he considered the boy a ward of his Court; that the conversations between the boy and himself were confidential, and given him under pledge of secrecy, and that he would never divulge them. He also insisted respectfully but firmly that he considered that such a betrayal of confidence would be a shocking crime against the

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childhood of the State, and that he hoped he would not be asked to make it. The presiding Judge commanded him to answer the question propounded, and Judge Lindsey again refused, and the Court then ordered that Judge Lindsey should be prosecuted for contempt in so refusing.

With Judge Lindsey's contentions in declining to testify as to information which he had received from Neal Wright The Outlook has already expressed its hearty sympathy. The whole theory of the juvenile court is founded on the building up of a relation of trust between the judge and those who come before him in the position of ward. The successful handling of each new problem which confronts the judge is based upon the reputation for fairness and honor which he has established in treating the problems of the past. Where the decision of a case hangs entirely upon the points of law involved, the personality of the judge is comparatively a minor issue. Where the decision of the judge must of necessity rest chiefly upon his understanding of human nature, in which knowledge of a child's mind is very much more important than a knowledge of Blackstone, the situation is widely different.

The Outlook, as we have said, has maintained that Judge Lindsey's position is justified by good morals. In trying the case before Judge Perry, Judge Hilton, Judge Lindsey's counsel, justified him in law as well as in morals. On both these points Judge Perry apparently disagrees, though, as we write, the grounds for his decision have not yet been published. We know, however, on what grounds the defense of Judge Lindsey's position was made, and, as the case will doubtless be appealed and may serve as a precedent-making decision in regard to the juvenile courts throughout the country, a summary of the defense may prove both interesting and valuable.

It was Judge Hilton's chief contention that the judge of a juvenile court is clothed with the powers of the English Chancellor—the keeper of the King's conscience—with the powers which the King possessed as *parens patriæ*, a power which in this country is in the possession of the State. It was the right of the King "to call upon the several courts of justice . . . to see that right is done to his subjects who are incompetent to act for themselves." Based on this right, a Colorado statute says, and the language is mandatory, "all cases of dependent children . . . are to be treated not as criminals but as needing aid, assistance, encouragement, help, and education, and therefore where practical to be tried under the chancery rather than the criminal jurisdiction of the court as wards of the State." This power of chancellorship, according to Judge Hilton, "is dependent, not upon the making of any complaint against a child, but upon the commission of the offense by or against the child." "It makes no difference," said Judge Hilton, "whether there is a complaint or petition or not, the moment that there are any of the crimes committed enumerated in the statute, or any other, that moment he is under the protecting arm and care of the chancellor."

It is this contention of Judge Hilton that represents perhaps the most novel feature in the case from the legal standpoint. If on appeal this point is decided against Judge Lindsey, it will mean that the peculiar sanctity attached to the disclosures made in the juvenile court will no longer exist. It will destroy perhaps the most effective instrument in the hands of juvenile court judges who are called upon to settle the cases of delinquent boys and girls. It will, for instance, mean that the child who offends or is offended against will no longer be assured that in its future life it will not be handicapped by having its early frailties a matter of record. It will mean that the court, instead of acting as a parent, may be forced to assume the attitude of the prosecutor. It will mean that the emphasis of the juvenile court law will be transferred from the benefit of the child to the benefit of the prosecutor's office.

Beyond this main contention Judge Hilton further maintained that it was the express purpose of the law to protect such confidences as must exist between a juvenile court judge and his ward. In the phraseology of a Colorado statute, "there are particular relations in which it is the policy of the law to encourage confidence and to preserve it inviolate." Judge Hilton took the position that, without regard to the rights of chancery conferred upon the juvenile court judge, Judge Lindsey was justified in his refusal to testify by warrant of the following statute: "A public officer shall not be examined as to communications made to him in official confidence, when the public interests, in the judgment of the court, would suffer by the disclosure."

It seems indisputable that, if Judge Lindsey were compelled to testify in regard to

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what was told him by Neal Wright, the public interests would suffer. The vital point of the case rests in the fact that the boy's confidence was secured by repeated promises that Judge Lindsey would not be compelled to testify in court as to what was told him. If such confidence were betrayed, the whole principle of trust would be at once broken down. No matter what the effect may or may not have been upon the trial of Mrs. Wright by the refusal of Judge Lindsey to testify, his betrayal of the confidence of the child would have worked more damage to the State than the loss of his testimony in this single case. As Judge Lindsey said, "protection of a hundred is more important than giving up in the case of one."

The situation which confronted Judge Perry for decision is thus summed up by Judge Hilton:

"Before the establishment of juvenile courts the moment that a child left home its fate was almost sealed. No one to guide him, no one to protect him. The citizen would have none of him because he was a runaway boy. The officer told him to move on or he would throw him in jail. Every hand was against him, and soon his hand was against society. Then he knew that he still had a refuge; he knew that he could tell to the sympathetic ear of the juvenile judge, the chancellor of the people, his sorrows and his fears, and receive help, encouragement, and assistance and absolute protection. And here is the District Attorney asking to tear away the last refuge of the child; to hale the chancellor into court and force him to tell the things which the statute says he shall keep secret, that public policy says that he shall keep secret, and things that the District Attorney himself is enjoined by law to keep secret; and yet, to answer the fancied need of a moment, the respondent is asked to wreck the only refuge of a delinquent or a neglected child and to forever prevent such child from taking its rightful place in the community of which he is a part. . . . I earnestly submit, if your Honor please, in conclusion, that this matter in its determination presents, as I have stated, an unusual opportunity for this honorable Court by its decision to perpetuate one of the grandest and most beneficent purposes and aims ever conceived in modern legislation. Your Honor's opinion, voiced at this time, sustaining the contention of this respondent, will be of inestimable benefit to this cause that he represents and throw a blazing light on questions unfamiliar to a degree to the bench and bar, and poorly understood, I am certain, by our illustrious profession."

The action of the superior courts upon this contention, denied by Judge Perry, will be awaited with very great interest by the whole country.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE WAR

A REVIEW, WITH SOME OPINIONS

LABOR LOSS

During the past twelve months many millions of men have been withdrawn from their ordinary work. They have either joined the various fighting forces or have been employed in the war industries.

For instance, in Germany, under arms on the two fronts there are now about four million men; in training perhaps a million more; two million men are said to be killed, wounded, missing, or made prisoners; about a million extra men are employed on the German railways (all are used for war and controlled by the military authorities), at the Krupp and other arsenals and factories engaged in the manufacture of war munitions, in the coal mines, and in the factories which make clothing, army boots, and other articles necessary to equip and provision the forces. The total would thus aggregate, say, eight million men withdrawn from ordinary industry, less the ordinary peace force of the German army.

Nor is this all. War is killing and maiming men at the front without reducing the number of their dependents. Even at the very moderate figure of two dependents for each there may be many millions dependent on the state for rations.

Nor is this all. The loss of life does not merely mean the loss of numbers; it also means a loss of the ideas and inventions which some of these young and vigorous men might have given to the world. Such

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a loss may well be regarded as the greatest loss of the war.

CASUALTIES

To concern ourselves with mere numbers, however, the casualties, including the killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, of the various Powers now engaged in war (Italy excepted) appeared to be about as follows on July 1, 1915:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners and Missing.	Casualties. Total.
France	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000
Great Britain	116,000	229,000	83,000	428,000
Russia	733,000	1,982,000	770,000	3,485,000
Germany	482,000	852,000	233,000	1,567,000
Austria	341,000	711,000	183,000	1,235,000
Belgium	47,000	160,000	40,000	247,000
Servia	64,000	112,600	50,000	226,600
Turkey	45,000	90,000	46,000	181,000
Japan	300	910	....	1,210
Totals	2,228,300	4,837,510	1,705,000	8,770,810

WOMEN'S WORK

In computing the losses of the war one should include the earnings and gains that would have been made if there had been no war. This amount, however, is somewhat lessened by the gratifying results already achieved in England in the munitions works and in Germany in many a department by the women who have replaced the men. A recent writer in the New York "Sun" describes this feature in Germany:

In all parts of the country I saw women working in the fields doing a man's work. . . . In a small town near Berlin I saw twenty young women digging a drainage ditch. Not peasant women, but girls neatly dressed in white, clean blouses, who had volunteered to do the work since no men were available. The conductors in the tram-cars of many German cities are now women. . . . They do their work well and politely—a decided improvement on the average male.

There is scarcely an occupation which German women have not taken up with success; but most interesting of all is their direct share in the equipment of the forces in the field. Forty per cent of the workers engaged in the manufacture of high explosives, of shells, and in the packing of cartridges are women.

Women form fifteen per cent of the "hands" occupied in the making of harness, saddles, bridles, and other leather goods used for military purposes; fifty per cent of the makers of tents, shelters, haversacks, and other equipment; thirty-three per cent of the workers in pharmaceutical industries; fifteen per cent of the surgical instrument makers; and twenty per cent of the field-glass producers. Seventy-five per cent of all the employees in the tinned meat and conserve factories working exclusively on army contracts are women; a similar number are engaged in textile mills providing the clothing for the soldiers, as are seventy per cent of the tobacco workers.

FOODSTUFFS

With regard to the cost of food in various countries we quote a report of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made public at the end of July. The effect of the outbreak of war on prices "was the same practically throughout Europe"—that is to say:

Its outbreak was followed by a sharp rise in prices, due mainly to panic and uncertainty. In some countries legislative measures were at once undertaken to check this rise; in others the Government strictly adhered to the hands-off policy, and trusted to the natural course of events for a readjustment. Within a fortnight the first panic was over, and except in the actual war zone prices began to sink. In most places, however, prices did not get back to the July level.

Prices then became largely dependent upon local conditions. Requisitions by the army increased prices, while the approach of the enemy lowered them. Transportation had also much to do with them. The cessation of tourist travel lowered them in those countries where the inhabitants were left with an over-supply. Within the same countries prices showed wide fluctuations. For instance, in Paris there was no increase in the general price level, and an actual decrease in the price of fruits, vegetables, and some meats, while in Marseilles there was an increase of eighty per cent.

INTENSIVE ECONOMICS

In this connection we should record the successful application by Germany of the system of intensive economics—or scientific management, as we should say—both in keeping the foodstuff supply going and maintaining the supplies for her factories as well. Germany has, of course, been greatly aided by the new crops and by her occupation of the Polish grain and oil fields, of the French coal and iron fields, and of such manufacturing centers as Lodz and Liège.

Germany has shone in the domain of material efficiency. Her war machine has worked well because it has had much administrative and economic strength behind it. This causes the "Kölnische Zeitung" to boast as follows:

This year's war has proved clearly the perfection of these [administrative and economic] institutions in Germany. There are no gaps in them

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through which Germany could be hit. The finest brain, or the most pitiless humorist, could not imagine a more overwhelming satire than that which has been written by the history of the past year of the failure to destroy Germany. It could have succeeded only if the Allies had possessed the organization which Germany possesses.

THE GERMAN JUNKERS

An economical and interesting phase of the whole situation is seen in the capture of German industrial efficiency by German militarism, just as politically a startling feature of the war lies in the hypnotism of the German people by their Government. The Germany which brought on the war is not the German nation as a whole. It is practically the Prussian part of the nation, and that part which is mostly resident in East Prussia. The East Prussians have always resisted transformation and development. They also remained a military caste, though all Germany had become industrialist. Their landed aristocracy was derided by the rest of Germany, and their landlords dubbed Junkers. Despite their outrageous suffrage system, the Junkers finally grasped, however, the necessity of centralizing the nation's resources, and allied themselves whenever possible with the industrialists. Germany's splendid economic development, and her equally splendid growth in social legislation and municipal government, thus became connected with mediævalism. In Junker judgment, the nation's chief prop is, not Parliament, but the army, and German economic development must always be controlled by military needs.

ENGLAND

As to the special labor conditions in England, Mr. Robert McCormick writes to the Chicago " Tribune " as follows :

Great Britain, by far the richest and greatest manufacturing country in the war, was turning out less than one-tenth of the munitions turned out by any of the other contestants, and was unable decently to supply her army in the field, so far from providing for the new, great army in training.

The fault is partly due, no doubt, to the military authorities, who had had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with affairs on a large scale, and who, in the first glow of new-found authority, were unwilling to associate with themselves competent business men.

It was due in a greater part to the workmen who insisted on limiting the output per man, as they had become accustomed to do during the many years of easy peace England's advantageous position had brought them. They were never told how serious was the situation of the nation; on the contrary, they were entirely deceived at the beginning of the war, and have been given only a small part of the truth to date.

GOVERNMENTS, INDUSTRY, AND DEBTS

It has been asserted that the basis for this war is economic rivalry. Economic conditions have been greatly relieved by the action of various governments in direct support to industries. In this connection the " Bankers' Magazine " asserts :

The situation would look chaotic and very dangerous if it were not for the knowledge of what the governments have already done in the way of sustaining industry. . . . With peace restored it is certain that nothing but time and credit is required to set the industrial machine running again. If there is credit enough to carry on war, there should be credit enough after war is ended to support the reorganization of industry. Indeed, it is fundamental that, if necessary, all old debts would have to be made secondary to new obligations for this purpose, just as in every corporate reorganization where new capital is necessary to save an old investment. Old debts are not made less secure by such a policy; on the contrary, they are protected.

LOANS

The largest borrowings have been by England. This is not surprising when we learn that the war is causing her upwards of $15,000,000 a day (the total cost of the war in money per day is about $60,000,000). Now, as England's revenue system yields her only a part of this daily cost, she has to raise money and has been able to do so to an unparalleled extent on her simple promise to pay. For instance, she has just floated an enormous loan from her people to herself of $3,000,000,000. The nearest approach to this loan was the second German war loan of $2,250,000,000. Germany is the second largest borrower, and France the third.

In addition to England's borrowings for herself, however, she is also borrowing for her allies. Both England and France have loaned large amounts to Russia, Belgium, and Servia.

The borrowings by Germany and France are especially interesting when we remember that France's public debt is the largest in Europe, $167 per capita, whereas Germany's is less than half, $77 per capita.

FRANCE

The question is frequently asked, How is it possible for the French to maintain their

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credit at such a high rate? The answer may be found in two words: Economy; cheerfulness. These qualities have been recently alluded to by M. Ribot, Minister of Finance in the French Cabinet:

The increases in direct taxation have been paid cheerfully by those able so to do, the revenues from indirect taxation are increasing, while the customs deficits are diminishing, and we are able to hope that on the day of peace there will be an exposition of activity in the development of the riches of our country which will permit us to overcome all difficulties. . . .

If it is possible to administer wisely the finances of the country, the merit is that of the entire people. It is the little savings in the woolen stockings which have come to the aid of the country; the gold has come in the beginning, not from the large cash boxes, but from pocketbooks.

COMMERCE

As to trade, there is no reduction as yet in the material imported into Great Britain for carrying on the war—the food, cotton, timber, wool, metals, petroleum, machinery, and munitions.

Much the same is true of France. As to Germany and Austria, however, their foreign commerce has almost ceased. The abnormal importations at the beginning of the war through Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia have been but a feeble offset in the immense loss sustained in general trade.

It is interesting also to note that in four of the belligerent countries—France, Italy, Austria, and Germany—which have the system of protection, the tariffs broke down, in the language of the New York "Evening Post," "precisely at the moment when revenue was more needed than at any other time in their history." The "Post" quotes an article in the London "Economist" to the following effect:

In the autumn of 1914 the French had to suspend their duties on corn, potatoes, fresh, frozen, and salted meats, and live cattle. Austria suspended her duty on corn in October, 1914, and Italy abolished hers in February, 1915, while in September, 1914, the Germans suspended all duties on bread, beans, butter, eggs, poultry, fish, and all foodstuffs prepared from cereals and flour.

Meanwhile, as the "Post" adds, "free-trade England has neither reduced nor suspended her revenue duties, and has been in better shape to weather the crisis than any of her allies or enemies." This raises the question: If a certain Mr. Rich, the banker, were forced by a sudden crisis to sell his automobiles and carriages, his jewelry and plate, while Mr. Poor, a well-known day-laborer, were under no such obligation, would this mean that the day-laborer was in better condition to "weather the crisis" than the banker?

As to special commercial conditions in England, the London "Statist" says:

We are limiting the profits which capitalists may make during the war. We are suspending all the rights and privileges acquired by the trade unions during the past century. And, in addition, we are taking to the hands of the Government the greater part of the whole trade of the country. We have given protection to the banks, the insurance companies, the Stock Exchange, the acceptors of bills, and so on. We have taken the wheat trade of India into our hands. We have taken the buying of food from Argentina also into our hands. In fact, we have adopted State Socialism to so large an extent that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that England at the present moment is practicing Socialism.

NEW ALLIES

The history of the twelvemonth is not altogether a military history. There has also been a coincident diplomatic and economic history. Victory and defeat resulting from it were seen when Russia declared war against Turkey and when Italy declared war against Austria.

That history is still registering important, if hidden, events in connection with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. Should they enter the war on the side of England, France, Italy, and Russia, the triumph of those Powers will be largely an economic triumph. Rumania in especial degree, because of her immense agricultural resources, emphasized by this year's unprecedented crop, is a prize worth striving for by either side. With the wish father to the thought, it is natural to find the London "Times" reporting that Rumanian public sentiment is "pronounced in favor of union with the Allies and day by day its manifestations become stronger and louder. The invitation which Russia has given that state to occupy the Bukowina and Transylvania cannot fail to confirm this view."

On the other hand, Mr. Alexander Brociner in the New York "Times" declares that Rumania is as likely to be influenced by a

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promise from Austria to give her, in case of victory, the Russian territory of Bessarabia, formerly Rumanian, as by the Russian promise of the gift of the Austrian territory inhabited by Rumanians.

AMERICA

Economically, America has suffered greatly by the twelvemonth of war. Our imports have been enormously diminished, nor has this been offset by the extraordinary demand upon this country for explosives, ammunition, automobiles, and foodstuffs. We must also give new credits. In discussing this subject we quote from a recent address before the Academy of Political and Social Science of Philadelphia by Mr. Alexander J. Hemphill, Chairman of the Board of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York City:

> The destruction and wastage of capital occasioned by the war has been estimated on the basis of a year's duration at $40,000,000,000; and while it may not be necessary to restore all of this at once, yet from present indications the demand on us will be enormous. First, there will be the call on our merchants to furnish materials in connection with the rehabilitation or rebuilding of the devastated country, and, secondly, we will have to give credit either through making direct loans or through the repurchase of American securities held abroad. From present indications the foreign investors will part from our securities slowly and will be tempted to liquidate only at high prices. It is more than probable that several of the foreign countries will ask us for some of our gold in order that they may restore or build up their gold reserves.

LIQUOR

Apart from its effect on the morals of the soldiers and people, the economic value of the abolishment of vodka-drinking in Russia is indicated by the gratifying increase of five hundred per cent in the savings bank deposits. Vodka had yielded an annual revenue to the Government of about $450,000,000, but to offset this loss as much as possible the Government is authorized to use the savings bank deposits for the purposes of investment in bonds.

Though the French are not addicted to drunkenness, just after the outbreak of the war, General Gallieni, Military Governor of Paris, forbade the sale of absinthe, on the ground that it was responsible for a large percentage of mental diseases. Last February the Chamber of Deputies prohibited the manufacture of absinthe.

In England the agitation against liquor has resulted chiefly in giving extraordinary powers to the Minister of Munitions in the district in which Government munitions work is carried on. This, however, is a great gain, if we recall the report of the Admiral of the Fleet in which he recorded his uneasiness "about the labor situation on the Clyde and the Tyne" because of the heavy drinking, and added that in four weeks 670,000 working hours had been lost.

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADE

What is the outlook for the future? It looks as if the element of foreign commerce might decide the duration of the war. Certainly, with the stoppage of their foreign trade Germany and Austria cannot always go on fighting. They may have foodstuffs and munitions of war enough to support their peoples and armies for a considerable time to come, it is true. But the ultimate economic as well as military victory must rest, we believe, with those whose foreign commerce has not been stopped and who have the greater potential resources.

No matter who wins, "finance is opposed to war, and will be more so than ever. Commerce is opposed to war. Labor is opposed to war," asserts the Topeka "Capital," and adds:

> Trade rivalry is in reality more co-operative and mutually advantageous than it is conflicting and warlike. Business men are coming to accept that proposition as sound and confirmed by experience. So the leading business men of Germany are reported to be saying, quite openly, that when this war ends it is not going to end in a peace determined by German diplomats. German industrial leaders, bankers, and merchants are talking to-day in terms of disrespect of German diplomacy, as well they may. If these sensible Germans are properly represented, and German Socialists and laboring men, in the peace settlement, it will be a great step in advance. So English merchants are now saying that when the war ends it must not mean the crushing of Germany, because Germany is England's best customer. . . .
>
> What does such talk mean, except that enlightened capital and enlightened labor, which together make up this new civilization of international industrialism, realize for the first time that there are no advantages worth grabbing by war?

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THE NEW YORK CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

*The Constitutional Convention of New York State is now drawing near the date at which its important decisions must be made in order to leave proper time for the drafting of the amendments agreed upon, and to give the voters a reasonable opportunity to learn the issues involved before they cast their ballots for or against. The Outlook presents below four brief articles from leaders, respectively, of the Republican, Democratic, Progressive, and Socialist parties. The writers, in response to The Outlook's request, attempt to indicate the principles by which the Constitutional Convention should be guided in determining what sort of matter should be incorporated in the State Constitution, and what is the essential function of a State Constitution. We here give the letters in the order in which we received them. Inasmuch as the Republican party is in the majority in the Convention, it is, moreover, fitting that its spokesman should have the last word. The writers of these letters, however, have in no case taken a partisan view of their subject. We think our readers will be impressed with the general agreement among them rather than with the points on which they differ. Of the four writers, Mr. Job E. Hedges has long been recognized as a prominent Republican, and was candidate for Governor in 1912; he is a delegate to the Convention; Mr. William Church Osborn is a Democrat, a lawyer of New York City, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1894; Mr. Carlos C. Alden, Progressive, is also a lawyer and the author of law books, was legal adviser to Governor Hughes, and has long been Dean of the Department of Law in the University of Buffalo; Mr. John Spargo is a member of the Socialist party's Executive Committee and has written several books which we consider to be among the best expositions of Socialist principles. On another page will be found an editorial discussion of the Constitutional Convention.—*THE EDITORS.

I—FROM A PROGRESSIVE

I HAVE your recent request for a brief letter stating my views of the principles by which the Constitutional Convention should be guided in determining what sort of matter should be incorporated in the Constitution.

The one essential function of the constitution of an American State is the creation of a structure of representative government. Powers, executive, judicial, and legislative, must be bestowed, and explicit provision made for the character of the governmental agencies, how constituted, and how chosen. That the present division of governmental powers should continue is of universal acceptance, I believe, and that the respective divisions continue as now constituted is in no way seriously opposed. Divergence of opinion is found, however, upon methods of selection, as well as the qualifications of those who shall participate in the selections made by popular choice.

At present we characterize the Governor as the executive, and hold him responsible for the administrative branch of government; but we surround him with our own popular choices for important administrative positions. This is wrong in principle. It ignores, besides, the limitations upon the efficiency of popular choice, the certainty that the strong head of the ticket will carry through the less deserving. I strongly favor a short ballot, making only the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor elective, with power to the Governor to appoint his administrative cabinet.

I do not approve of an appointive judiciary, nor do I favor the existing methods of nomination and election. Appointment of the Supreme Court justices by the chief judge of the Court of Appeals does not commend itself; it savors of a grant of power, political in its character, which has usually worked badly in our country when linked with judicial office. The tendencies, conservative or otherwise, of the chief judge and his brethren on the Appeals bench would naturally and too readily exert a dominating influence upon the selections for the lower bench. Can we, in some way, unite the best features of both an appointive and an elective

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judiciary and escape certain of the evils attendant upon both methods? I suggest that the Governor might appoint, and then the people at a subsequent election vote whether or not they will continue the appointee. If the vote is negative, the incumbent retires from office, and the Governor makes another appointment subject to similar confirmation or rejection by the people. Votes for the judiciary should be given on separate ballots containing no political insignia.

A literary test should be added to the qualifications of the voter, to such an extent only as to justify the use of a ballot without political emblems or numbers to identify the individual candidates.

Shall the bestowal of governmental power be accompanied (as under the present Constitution) by a complete abdication of any reserved right in the people, save as may be asserted by means of an amendment of the Constitution, such amendment being possible only after legislative permission? I do not favor the continuance of the present situation. There should be included in the new Constitution: (1) a grant of power to the Legislature to refer an act to the approval or disapproval of the people, to take effect only in the event of approval, and (2) a reserved power in the people to initiate a Constitutional amendment. Since the power to promote the general public welfare—*i. e.*, the police power—lies in the desire of the people, better methods should be provided for obtaining an expression of the people's desire than now obtain.

Our present Constitution contains many provisions aimed to prevent an abuse of the power of legislation. I believe the sounder guiding principle is, not to attempt to tie the hands of a bad Legislature, but make it essential to the people to elect a good one. Tested by this principle, many of the present restrictive provisions can be omitted. Nevertheless, provisions safeguarding State and municipal credit are desirable, and the civil service, the school system, and the militia as well should have Constitutional recognition and protection. The time-honored safeguards surrounding life, liberty, and property should also be continued.

Local autonomy for cities deserves stronger Constitutional enunciation. I would favor a home rule provision for cities that would render them free to choose their forms of local government and free to administer their local affairs without legislative dictation, and the nomination and election of all city officials should be dissociated from political primaries and elections.

County autonomy and regulation should disappear from the Constitution as a feature of the basic law, and the Legislature left with full power and responsibility over methods of administration of these purely political subdivisions.

I trust I have not overrun the limits of the brief letter which you requested. I have covered what I feel should be the sort of matter included within a State Constitution. Only basic essentials should be treated and fundamental principles enunciated. Its provisions need be self-executing only when providing for the structure of government.

CARLOS C. ALDEN.

II—FROM A SOCIALIST

Every written constitution in the history of mankind has, at some time and in some fashion, become an obstacle to progress. It is inevitable that the utmost wisdom and imagination of one generation must fail to anticipate all the needs, opportunities, and conditions of the generations to come. Thus the instrument devised by one generation in a passion for freedom and democracy may become the instrument of reaction and oppression in a later generation.

Even where, as in the case of many of our State constitutions, formal and systematic revision at relatively frequent periods is comparatively easy, this danger of yesterday hampering the life of to-day is very real.

Conditions change so rapidly, new problems arise so unexpectedly, and are frequently of such grave character, that it is desirable to have the freedom and power to deal with them as they arise, quite unhampered by the regulations of men who, however great their wisdom, knew nothing of the problems now pressing for solution.

Since we are certain to continue to have a written Constitution, it is of little more than academic interest to note the fundamental objection to written constitutions or to suggest that the flexible and unwritten Constitution of England is a better implement for the use of democracy than our written and rigid Constitution. The best practical thing we can do is to suggest a basic principle, or principles, which will insure the minimum of danger together with the maximum of advantage.

In my judgment, then, the Constitutional

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Convention will serve the highest and best good of the great State of New York if it imposes a minimum of restraints and restrictions upon the popular will, and leaves the greatest possible freedom to the people of this and succeeding generations to deal with new problems and changing conditions.

In the quite recent past we have had laws regulating the employment of women workers and laws restricting the hours of labor in certain occupations declared unconstitutional. Thus the hand of a past generation ruled the life of the present. The new State Constitution ought to be so framed as to permit the determination of such matters to be wholly unhampered by past traditions or rules. A new invention, either of a machine or of a mechanical process, may make imperative restrictions which cannot be foreseen to-day and which would be absurd if proposed now. How, then, can there be any safety except in leaving such matters to be determined by the popular will at any time?

Not only ought the State to be free to deal with every question as seems best at the time, but the cities ought to have sufficient home rule to enable them to deal with their own peculiar and special problems unhampered by the rural villages. For example, if the State establishes minimum wages and maximum hours of employment by statute, such laws should be binding upon the large towns and cities only as a minimum standard. They should be free to establish for themselves a higher rate of pay as a minimum and to still further restrict the hours of employment.

I believe that the principle of equal adult suffrage should be embodied in the new Constitution. It is unnecessary for me to argue this question here. You disagree with the claim which seems to me valid and unanswerable—namely, that we can never have political or industrial democracy until we have made women politically equal with men, equally entitled to participate in the work of government. I shall be very much disappointed if equal suffrage for both sexes does not win. It would, in my judgment, be a calamity of the first magnitude if the new Constitution should exclude women from the franchise.

I have not much hope that the Constitutional Convention will recommend that the power to declare laws unconstitutional be taken from the courts. Of course, the very fact that we adopt a written Constitution makes it necessary to repose the final right to interpret it. That right, in my judgment, had far better be reposed in the sovereign citizens, through the referendum, than in any judicial tribunal, whether appointed or elected.

The right of municipalities to engage in industrial and commercial enterprises should be recognized by the Constitution.

But I find myself doing the very thing I wished to refrain from doing, namely, citing specific details rather than general principles. The principle which seems to me of the greatest importance is the principle of preserving the utmost freedom for the expression of the collective will. JOHN SPARGO.

III—FROM A DEMOCRAT

Our State Constitution is not a sacred writing, nor is it a "scrap of paper." Apart from its guarantees of fundamental rights, it is a working plan of government based on experience, and should be changed as experience dictates.

The reliable growth of our cities in civic sentiment and ability entitles them to be trusted with far more self-control or home rule than they now have. The line between State and municipal interest cannot always be drawn. There are, however, matters, such as finance, organization, and salaries, exclusively municipal. A home rule provision can be drawn so as to free all such functions from legislative interference, leaving State-wide matters under legislative control. I would suggest enumerating city powers and reserving all others powers in the State, *i.e.*, reversing the relations of the State and Federal Governments. The desire for some such action is strong on the part of the people of every important municipality in New York.

While municipal conditions have been improving steadily since the Constitution of 1894, the State executive conditions are growing worse. The platforms of both political parties dealt largely with this subject in 1914; ex-President Taft treated it at length in his recent address to the Convention. With every change of administration there is a period of "ripper" bills. The growing agitation for the short ballot and for a State budget are eloquent testimonies to the public consciousness that something is wrong.

There are too many departments and too little responsibility. The State divides its work among one hundred and forty or fifty departments. The Nation has nine Cabinet

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officers and three commissions. The Bureau of Municipal Research plan introduced by Mr. Saxe provides for eleven departments. Surely the Convention could divide all the business of the State among that many departments under the executive control of the Governor. As an example, the administration of penal affairs and allied subjects is in the hands of the State Prison Commission, Superintendent of Prisons, the State Commission on New Prisons, the Probation Commission, and the Board of Parole. One properly organized department would handle all the duties of these five organizations with skill and economy. This approximation to the Federal and municipal systems of executive government would be generally approved. On the practical side this is a more important question than the short ballot, as it involves about ninety per cent of the State business, while the officers affected by the short ballot conduct not over ten per cent of the State activities and expenditures.

With such a reform should go real responsibility and real executive duties in the Governor. The Constitutional duties of the Governor remain unchanged since John Jay wrote the first Constitution of the State, but successive Legislatures have placed upon him innumerable petty duties which absorb and waste his time. A lot of underbrush of this sort must be cut out to show the growth and standing of the Governorship and to give the occupant room to be a real chief executive.

The Governor now shares with the Senate responsibility for all appointments and removals except the Superintendent of Public Works, who is appointed by the Governor without the advice of the Senate and is removable in the same way, the term expiring with that of the Governor. This Constitutional provision resulted from the agitation for the better management of the canal system under Governor Tilden. Without power of appointment or removal a Governor cannot secure results. This department independence saps the budget, since each department head now gets all he can and the Governor has no help and no control. The hope of betterment lies in changing the control of appointments and removals.

The Democratic platform of 1914 calls for increase only in the executive powers of the Governor. It makes no proposal to grant him legislative powers of initiative, discussion upon the floor or otherwise. Proposals have been made in the Convention to grant legislative powers to the Governor, even going so far as to give the Governor power of prorogation of the Legislature. These would change our form of government to the English system of Cabinet responsibility. We may as well stop for the present at a sensible development of the executive system of the State, leaving to the future discussion of legislative powers in the Governor.

Down to 1894 the Governor's term was three years; it was then changed to two years. With the exception of Governor Glynn, who had been Comptroller for two years, no Governor in recent years has held any substantial executive office in the State. It seems to be our habit to select men prominent because of activities other than those connected with the State executive business. Indeed, executive efficiency is not much aid in gaining high position. Disraeli once spoke of the "illusion of supposing that any man or body of men could rise to power in this country [England] by a mere reputation or administrative talent," and our experience supports his view. We should therefore increase the term to three or four years to insure bringing our able but inexperienced Governors to their maximum value.

Equal Representation. I well remember the scene in the Convention of 1894 when Messrs. Tracy Becker, of Erie, and "Commodore" Vedder, of Cattaraugus, introduced and jammed through the amendment limiting the Senate representation of residents of the Greater New York. That hasty action, with the new rules of county representation in the Assembly, introduced a firebrand in our political life, for they fix the principle of inequality of representation as a part of our organic law.

The Convention should seek to equalize representation by doing away with the rules as to surplus representation and locality. The example of giving the counties of Fulton and Hamilton but one assemblyman might well be followed in other cases.

I do not believe that the voter in one part of the State is superior in patriotism, virtue, or intelligence to the voter in another part of the State; nor do I believe that the organic law should embody provisions intended to discriminate between citizens of the State. One man, one vote, is our principle, and I believe it should be. We should not deny it by giving one man half a vote and another a

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vote and a half. On a principle, fear of this or that should not govern. Our convictions should rule.

These are the larger problems for the Convention: Home Rule for Cities, Executive Reform, Equal Representation. They can be merely meddled with, or they can be treated with the ample vision and touched with the grand style which have marked the finest efforts of Mr. Root.

The remaining weeks of the Convention are not too brief for a weighty and noble advance in these directions.

WILLIAM CHURCH OSBORN.

IV.—FROM A REPUBLICAN

You ask me to state the general principles which should govern the members of the New York Constitutional Convention in determining what should be incorporated in the new instrument, particularly in reference to the duties, powers, and responsibilities of the Legislature and the Executive.

The New York State Constitution, in common with other State constitutions and the Federal Constitution, performs two distinct but closely connected functions. Primarily it prescribes the form of the State government and the functions of its several parts. In that respect, and stripped of technical phraseology, it may be fairly considered analogous to the skeleton of the human body, around and within which legislative acts, local ordinances, and court decisions will construct the living, operating tissue of the government of the State and its local subdivisions. Of equal importance, the Constitution establishes in its Bill of Rights the protection to which each individual inhabitant of the State is entitled against all the rest. It defines the irreducible minimum of the rights of the minority against the will of the majority, however large. It leaves, and should leave, to that majority the procedure under which the civic life of the State continues.

Prohibitory Constitutional provisions limiting the action of the Legislature, or regarding private or local bills, or governing the creation of a State debt, or protecting the wild forest lands of the State, while designed to protect the people of the State as a whole against hasty or corrupt legislative action, are inherently part of the plan or skeleton of the State government. Several State constitutions adopted in comparatively recent years so multiplied provisions of the character just mentioned that the primary purpose of the instrument was entirely obscured. Fortunately in this State there is little present evidence of such an unreasoning public distrust of the Legislature. For the people unduly to restrain the action of their chosen legislative representatives is to render ineffective the mobile part of government represented in legislative enactments.

The strength of the Federal Constitution is in the breadth of its general principles and the small number of fundamentals enunciated. Constitutional amendments should represent the growth through periods of constructive thought which have merged into finally accepted forms and procedures.

In the adoption of a new Constitution we must consider, not only its primary functions, but the history of the essentials of our present Constitution. Every school-boy knows, or should, that the safeguards which surround the individual have come with no essential change from the days of the Magna Charta and the English Bill of Rights, and that their principles are woven into the very fabric of our institutions. It is sufficient to note that in all essentials our present Constitution reproduces the Constitution of 1846. We may expect the Convention now in session to continue the framework of our Government substantially unaltered.

It is not sufficient for the new Constitution to restate individual rights in words already familiar, and merely to re-enact in broad outline a plan of government essentially identical with those plans which have preceded it. We must deal with the political problems of this generation as preceding generations dealt with theirs, slowly, step by step, and in the light of past experience, always bearing in mind that we are framing a Constitution, not drafting a legislative enactment or performing the functions of a board of aldermen. The real progressive method is not to incorporate in the Constitution needless prohibitions of practices found undesirable, and certainly not minute regulations concerning the details of State or municipal governments. The framework of the State government should be so broadly stated that ample room remains within which to adapt ourselves to needs as they arise. It seems to me that as the power of the Legislature to deal with State matters should be complete, so the several municipalities, within broad lines, should be left to mold and operate their local governments in accord with local conditions, subject, of course, to

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the sovereignty of the State. The same principle applies to the judicial system, and powers should reside in the courts to adapt their procedure to the needs of the day.

Much of the criticism of judicial delay and judge-made law is neither pertinent nor wholesome in its effect on the public mind. Judges interpret law. The representatives of the people have not kept the law up to present-day demands oftentimes, and criticism of the courts is largely due to their necessary interpretation of statutes ill framed, illogically drawn, and placed upon the books without previous comprehensive investigation. The attempt to enforce beliefs by law rather than to regulate conduct is an evil to be avoided.

Aside from the fundamental question as to the extension of the suffrage, the storm center of recent Constitutional struggles has been the interpretation of the Constitutional protection of life, liberty, and property as a bar to legislation, such as the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation enactments. Recent amendments to our present Constitution have rectified the condition complained of, and the Constitution guarantees to the individual should remain as they have been throughout our history—the fundamental tenets of our political faith.

There is a tendency continuously to center in the executive added authority. That authority is now comprehensive and potential. Through appointments, the power of removal, the power of veto, and the creation of public opinion by addressing the Legislature, the Governor has all the authority necessary for the proper work of an executive. Practical initiative must come from the Legislature, reflecting public opinion, crystallized in law for the betterment of human society; always mindful, however, of the Constitutional guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. JOB E. HEDGES.

ON THE TRAIL OF PROGRESS AND REACTION IN THE WEST

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

TENTH ARTICLE

THE MARCH OF POLITICAL LIBERALISM

This is the final article in the series which Mr. Davenport has been writing for The Outlook during the last few months. He has been studying the National liberal movement in important States in the Middle and Far West. This article points out the inferences and conclusions from the facts as he has found them.—THE EDITORS.

I AM willing to admit that it was the property group in the colonies which wrote the Constitution of the United States. I am willing to admit that Hamilton and Marshall together did more to establish property right in the country than any other two men who ever lived in it. I am also ready to defend in the main what they accomplished. In the years immediately following the American Revolution the property influence alone had the National interest and the National vision. No other group could write the Constitution of the United States and do it so well as it actually was done. Moreover, the establishment of property right is one of the foundations of any national liberalism which would be worth while. In the critical period immediately following the Revolution there was no genuine democratic movement. Growing out of the circumstances of the time, there was a large opposing propertyless mass who were chiefly conspicuous for what was frequently referred to in the Constitutional Convention as the turbulence and follies of democracy. Now, as between property and anti-property, there is only one side to take, and that is the side of property. Any minority control of government, no matter how benevolent, is a makeshift; but it is better than anti-property control. At least this can be said for the early property influence in

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the United States: It was National to the core, and it sought by the Constitution to establish order and organization for a whole people. There are some things in the Constitution that had to be changed, and others which may still have to be changed, in the interest of a genuine democracy. But, upon the whole, the Constitution was headed right.

Under Jefferson and Jackson the country saw the beginning of a real democratic movement, with both its defects and its virtues. It met squarely the philosophy of the control of government by a well-to-do minority and laid the foundations for the ultimate overthrow of such control. At the same time it enormously strengthened the hands of a dominant few in the United States for a hundred years by fastening the spoils system, and thus the political machine, upon the necks of the American people. It is certain property groups working through political machines intrenched and strengthened by the Jacksonian spoils system which have made the path of democracy so difficult in the generation since the Civil War.

Property ownership in plantations and slaves wrested the leadership once more from the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson. But this time it was a property leadership which had neither the National purpose, the National vision, nor the desire to establish justice for all men in the country. It was willing to destroy the Union in order to establish the property right in slaves. It was the task of the statesmanship of Lincoln and the armies of Grant to re-enthrone the rights and power of all over the rights and power of a part.

When the Civil War closed, it seemed that the way had been cleared for the advance of political liberalism in the United States, that it would be possible to work out a programme of popular freedom and equality and human welfare under circumstances perhaps the most favorable in the history of the world. The Republican party, the party of liberty and of human rights, appeared likely to be the channel of it. The Democratic party was broken and discredited by the war. But the death of Lincoln and the harsh and blundering policies of Reconstruction and the creation of the diverting and unfortunate issue of Negro domination, together with the impoverishment of the South by the long struggle, have been retarding to the present moment the course of progress below Mason and Dixon's line. And over the rich industrial East in the generation following the Civil War there fell the pall of a deadening materialism. The struggle for wealth, both earned and unearned, well-nigh submerged the old democratic ideas of equality, freedom, and fraternity. Strong men went into business and not into the occupation of government—honest strong men as well as greedy and cunning strong men. Honest strong men sought to dominate government in the interest of the upper economic class, upon the theory that, if you center government upon business prosperity, well-being will seep through and refresh the lower economic classes also. Greedy and cunning strong men stole franchises and wrecked railways and bribed and overawed legislatures and courts and pliant politicians. Many city governments, numerous State governments, and frequently the National Government were used as the tools of materialism. For a long time the American people did not feel the pinch of political or economic oppression. Where so much well-being was to be had everybody had something; and the forms of popular government seemed to be working as of old. For a long time the American people did not realize that the substance had departed and that they were no longer free. At last they began to wake up. And this is what they found. To the victors belong the spoils. The giant interests which furnished the sinews of war and the political machines which made use of the funds were the victors. To them belonged the spoils. Democracy was hoist with its own petard. The spoils system of the Jacksonian democracy and industrial prosperity together had undermined freedom.

The modern march of political liberalism in the United States commenced in the West. The Western farmers in the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century began the revolt against political and economic misrule. They haled the railways into court and before commissions to answer the charges of exorbitant rates and unfair discriminations; they invoked the direct primary to break the control of the railway machine which was exercising sovereign power over politics and government in many of the Western States. The Grangers, the Farmers' Alliance, the Populists, were only names for organized groups of men who, like their forebears at Lexington and Concord Bridge, were out to win justice for themselves and, as they conceived it, freedom from their oppressors.

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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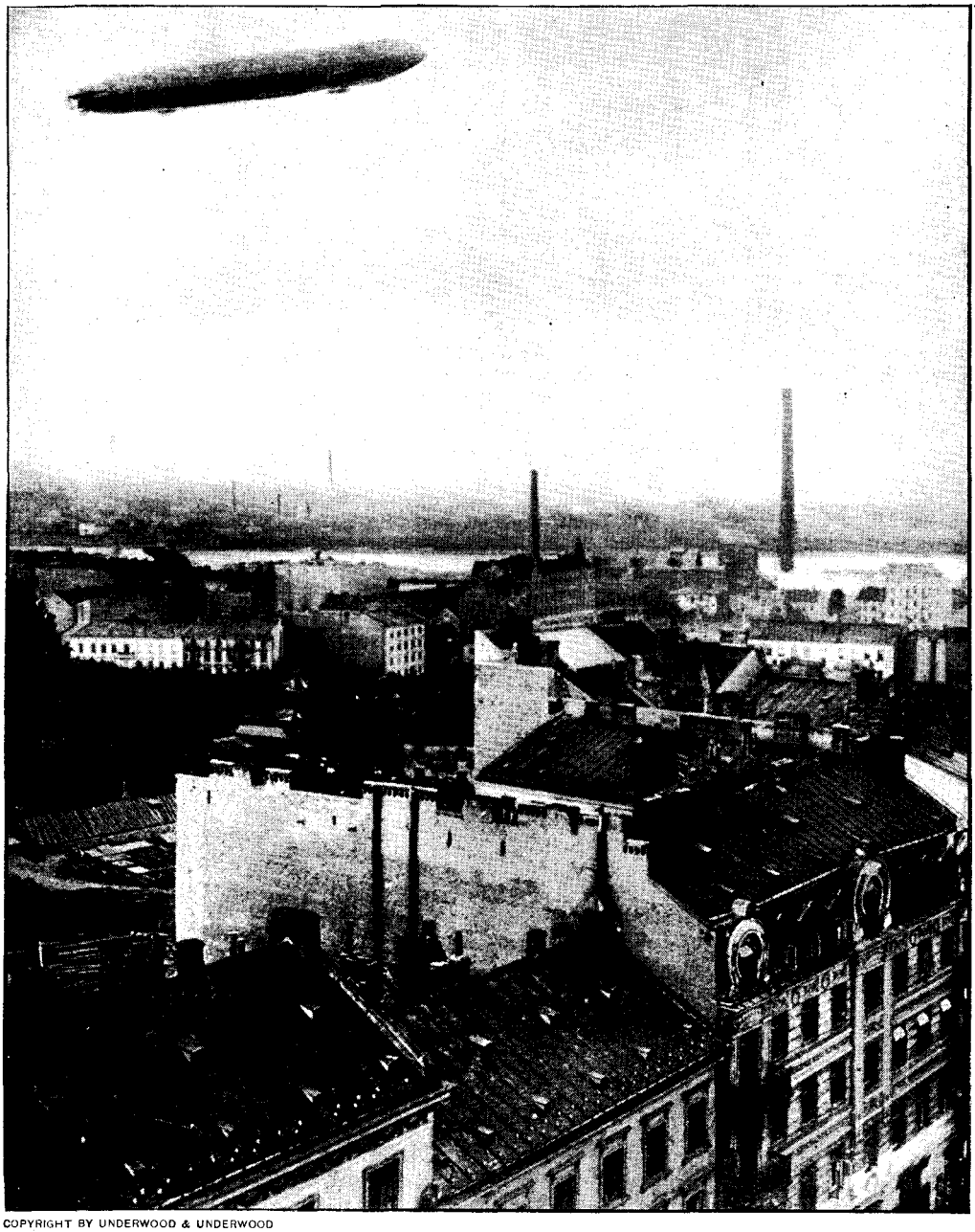
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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VIEW OF A SECTION OF WARSAW, WITH A ZEPPELIN AIR-SHIP ABOVE AND THE VISTULA RIVER BEYOND

The goal for which the German army in the east has been striving for the last nine months. Correspondence from Russia printed on July 31 stated that the civic and official evacuation had been going on for a week or more. See "The Story of the War," on another page

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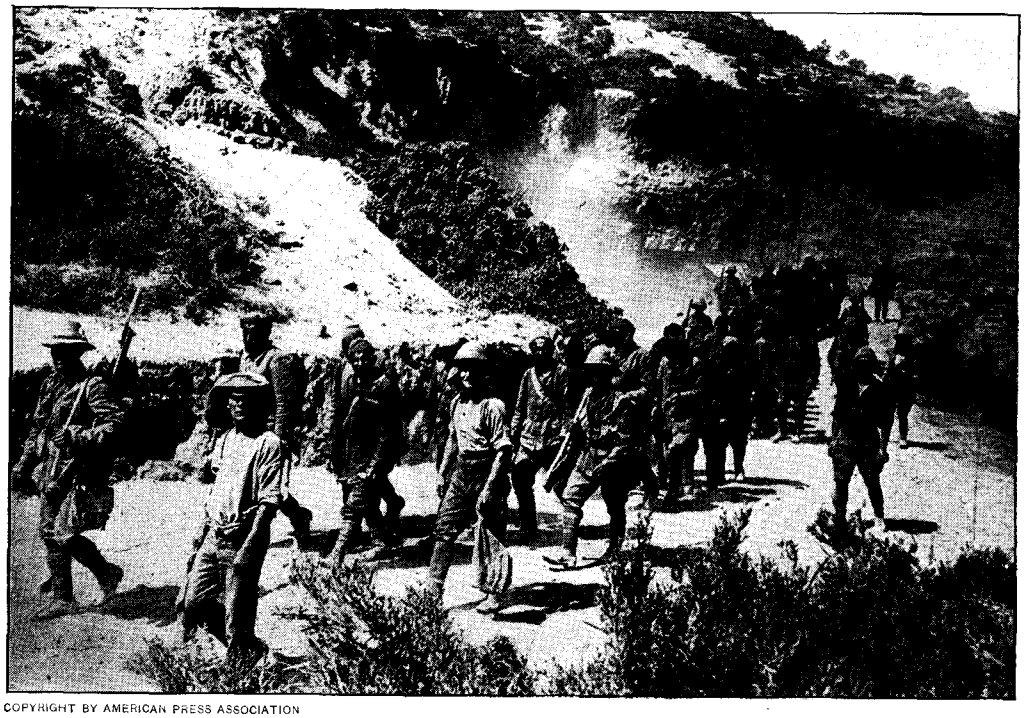
A MODERN BRITISH GUN IN ACTION. THIS PARTICULAR GUN IS CALLED BY THE GUNNERS "ANNIE"



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A GROUP OF TURKISH PRISONERS BEING LED TO THEIR PRISON CAMP BY WAY OF A DEEP GULLY IN THE DARDANELLES

TWO GLIMPSES OF THE ALLIES IN THE DARDANELLES

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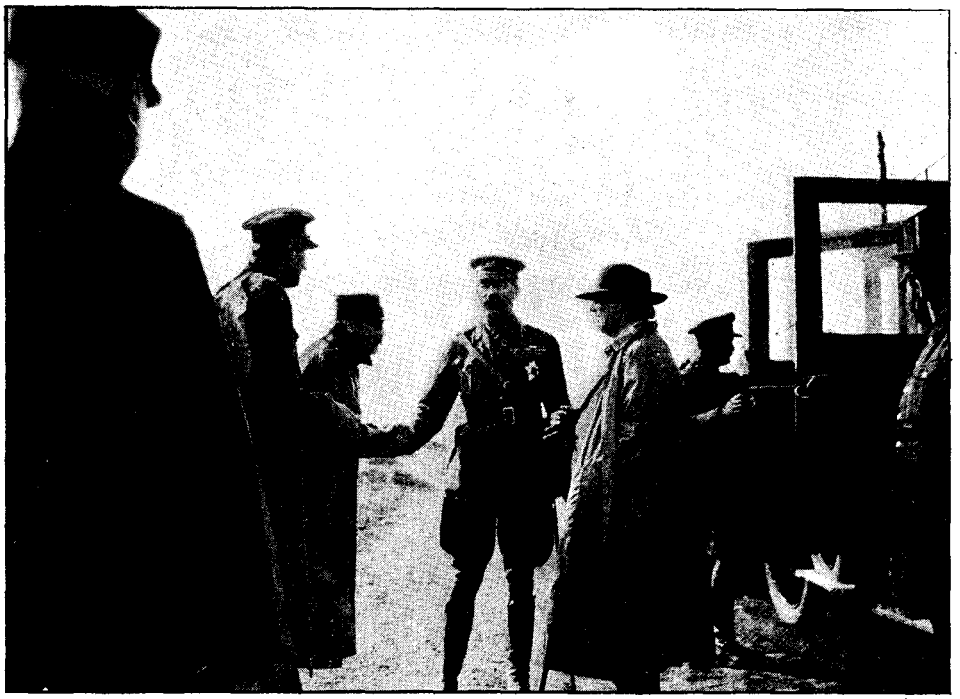
FRENCH CABINET MEMBERS AND GENERALS AT THE RAILWAY STATION AT CALAIS

Near the center of the background in this group is General French talking with a French officer. In the foreground are the French Minister of War, M. Millerand, General Joffre, and others



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LORD KITCHENER AND MR. ASQUITH, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND, AT THE FRONT

RECENT SNAP-SHOTS OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH GENERALS AND CABINET MINISTERS IN FRANCE

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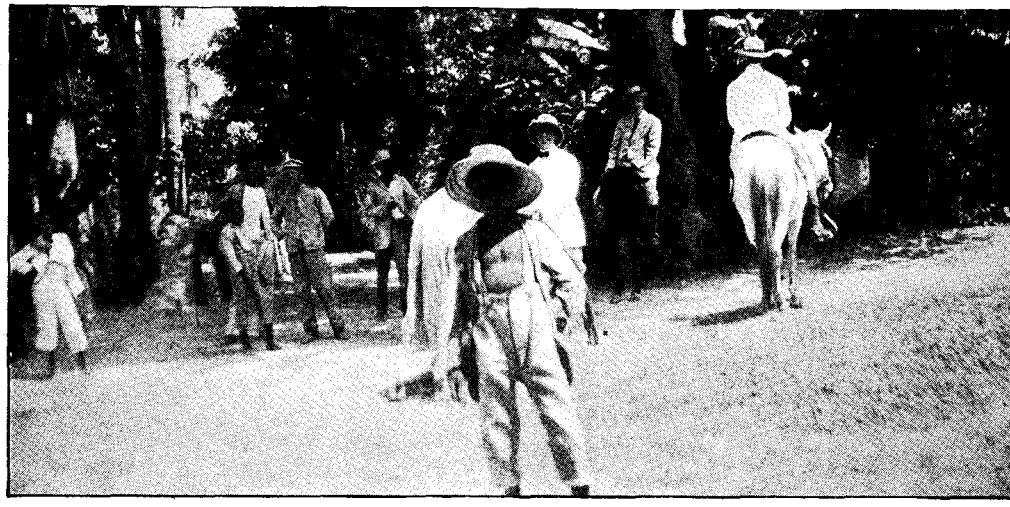


PHOTOGRAPH BY J. M. CUMMING

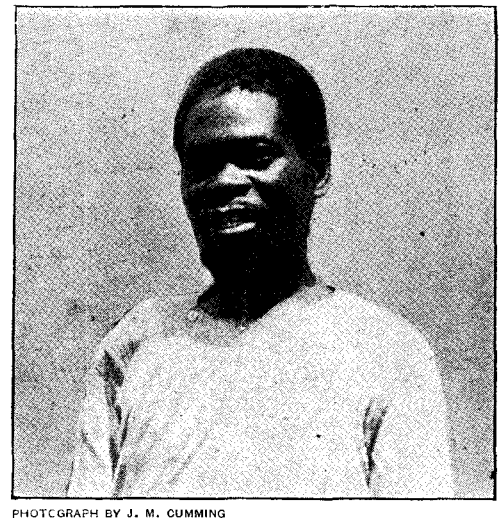
IN THE PARK

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. M. CUMMING

STREET SCENE IN PORT-AU-PRINCE; GOVERNMENT TROOPS AT THE RIGHT NEAR THE GUARDHOUSE

PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

PRESIDENT GUILLAUME



PHOTOGRAPH BY J. M. CUMMING

A NEGRO TYPE

THE REVOLUTION IN HAITI

The recent overturning of the Government and the slaying of President Guillaume on July 28, noted in The Outlook last week, necessitated the landing of about four hundred United States marines, under Rear-Admiral William B. Caperton, to restore order. See editorial comment

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A NEW WAY TO REGULATE STREET TRAFFIC

The New York City Police Department lately, as an experiment, put in place on Fifth Avenue sema phores, as shown in these two pictures, which swing alternately uptown and crosstown. Thus it is indicated that traffic is open either east and west or north and south. The semaphores were worked simultaneously for five blocks on Fifth Avenue so as to allow continuous movement for that distance

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SHERIFF EUGENE KINKEAD

At the recent oil strike at Bayonne, New Jersey, Sheriff Kinkead took hold of the situation with an iron hand and, as described in The Outlook last week, soon had the rough or lawless element of both sides under arrest

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AUGUSTUS THOMAS

The well-known American playwright has now become manager of the Frohman companies. See editorial comment. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Mr. Thomas's first play was "Editha's Burglar," after Frances Hodgson Burnett's novel. Others of his best-known plays are "The Witching Hour," "The Harvest Moon" and "As a Man Thinks"

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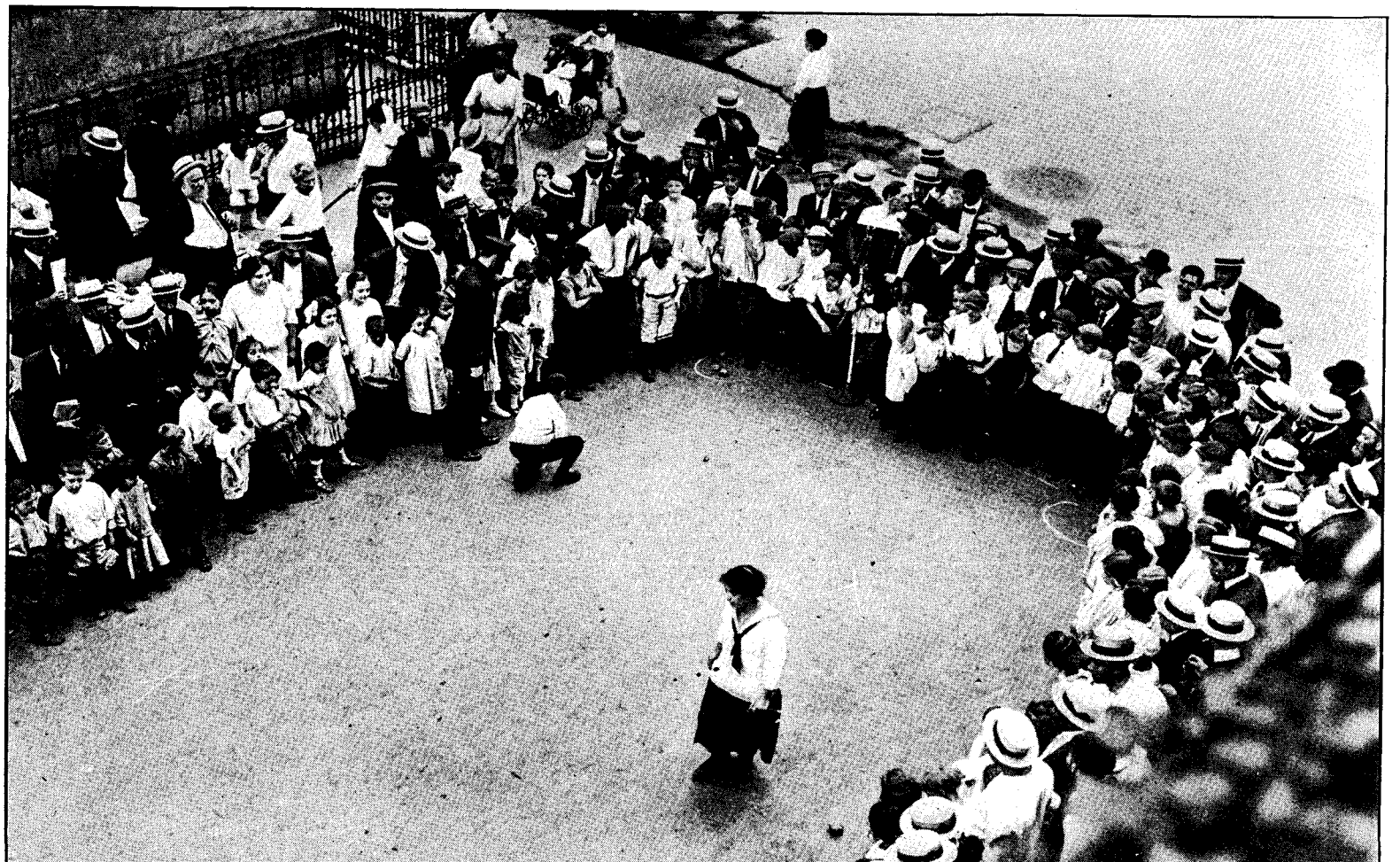

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A STREET PLAYGROUND

This picture shows how a public thoroughfare in New York City is converted into a playground where the children may engage in all sorts of games without being disturbed or being in danger of vehicles. In the hollow square, in this picture, a potato race is going on. The city officials have allotted certain streets of the city for this purpose for the benefit and pleasure of the East Side children

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They found that the old theory of early democracy in this country—of as little government as possible—had broken down. Truly the people had exercised little power, but the iron hand of bosses and corrupt interests had been strong enough to thwart the popular will in the governor's chair, the halls of legislation, and the courts. Now they entered upon the course of making government their own, and of making it so strong that it would put the boss and the corrupt interest under its feet.

In the Democratic party liberalism took root in the West over the question of the place that fiat money, and later silver, should occupy in the currency of the country. It was an issue doomed to dissolution, but that was of minor consequence. Silver was a symptom of the fever of discontent that was spreading among the many over the usurpation of their rights by the few. It was an evidence of the rising tide of democracy. Associated with it were issues which were destined to live and not die. In Bryan they found a persuasive voice and obtained a National hearing. The cross of gold and the cross of monopoly became within the Democratic party the symbols of a liberalism which came out of the West, attached to itself great numbers of wage-earners in the East, and in 1912 attained dominance in the National councils of that party through the election of Woodrow Wilson.

The essence of political liberalism is the development of the National sense of power and of right, and the largest practicable measure of freedom and welfare for all classes of people. In the Republican party its manifestations were different, but in essence it was the same. Whether under La Follette, of Wisconsin, setting the prairies of Kansas and the Dakotas on fire, or Dolliver and Cummins in Iowa, or Hughes in New York, or Johnson in California, or Roosevelt in the Nation, it was the same fight to wrest government from powerful private groups which had usurped it, and to make government more responsible to the popular will and to popular need. La Follette in Wisconsin put the railways under the yoke of fair taxation, established workmen's compensation, an industrial commission, and a railway com mission with power to fix rates. Cummins successfully challenged the right of powerful corporations to sit in political conventions or occupy seats in legislative halls. Dolliver was the giant knight-errant of the movement for an honest revision of the tariff in the interest of the whole country. Hughes brought the great public utilities of his State under sovereign control and made the Constitution applicable to the powerful racing syndicate which had long defied it. He was beaten in his direct struggle with the bosses to deprive them of their influence over the party machinery, but he lighted a fire that will never go out in his State. Johnson broke the forty-year grip of the Southern Pacific machine in California, and there is no freer, fairer commonwealth than the State at the Golden Gate. And the roll of reforms for which Roosevelt is responsible, both in office and out, is a genuine part of the long roll of the hopes and desires of men since democracy began.

Liberalism seemed about to break through the crust and conquer the leadership of minority privilege and conservatism in both the great parties. In this crisis for governmental Bourbonism, the old political leaders threw their party devotion to the winds. Their corporation masters had long ago done this, and had for years contributed with amazing impartiality to the coffers of both the great political organizations. Now in the State legislatures, and finally in the last-ditch stand of the Cannon régime in Congress, the bi-partisan intrigue of the political machines against liberalism became obvious to millions of men whose traditional habit of mind and deep-seated party affection had beforetime blinded their eyes. Long-continued bi-partisan alliances between corrupt business and corrupt politics in California, in Colorado, in Illinois, in New York, and in many other States were clearly revealed to the astonished gaze of the rank and file of loyal voters of the country. In the particular States which I have named the corrupt alliance is judicially proved.

And then came the revolution. Personalities entirely aside, this is the inner meaning of 1912. The four millions of the Progressive party were the more daring of the gathering hosts of liberalism in the United States. They were shocked by the absence of integrity in the party leaders as it manifested itself in the Chicago Convention. They broke the shackles of bi-partisanism. They blew off the lid. They lifted liberalism, which had before been more or less a Western movement, to the plane of a National movement and inoculated all States and all parties and all sections of the country irrevocably with the

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virus of it. That was the function of the Progressive party, and very likely it may have no other.

The permanence and dominance of third parties seem foreign to the political genius of the American people. This is a two-party country. Many third parties have come and gone since the early days of the Republic, but only one third party ever came into power, and that was the Republican party under the stress of a single, all-dominating moral issue in the midst of a passion which resulted in the Civil War. But a number of third parties have thrust influences and issues of profound value upon the two great party groups.

The Progressive party accomplished two purposes: it palsied the power of the corrupt bi-partisan machines and extended the range of freedom within party organizations. Let not the temporary recrudescence in some parts of the country of the old arrogance beneath the shadow of the world war and the world depression cloud our judgment about that. Bourbonism is badly hurt. The young lieutenants of the old order, who will soon succeed the political barons who are going or gone, will conduct party organizations and politics with better ideals than their elders. Of itself this is a great gain. And the other purpose which the Progressive party accomplished was the holding of a vision of National power and freedom and welfare, if only for an hour, before the eyes of a hundred millions of people. The platform of the party was a vision. No country ever could accomplish a programme like that in one campaign. It is not in collective human stuff to work with such swiftness and vehemence. Step by step and day by day is the natural course of human progress. And yet I was surprised above everything else in the West by the magnitude of what has actually been completed in many of the States. The progressive movement, as distinguished from the Progressive party—that is, the movement towards National liberalism—has struck in deep; deeper also in the East than many persons yet realize. I mention this only in passing. I hope it may not disturb too much the simple faith of many honest but misguided persons in the East who look upon the Progressive party as an institution now under the ban because it offered the country gold bricks and spurious bonds, and was caught at it!

In the series of articles hereby concluded upon "Progress and Reaction in the West" I have never blinked the fact that in the West, as elsewhere in the country, there is a halt in the march of political liberalism. But in the West it is mainly a halt to get breath. The pace has been too swift even for the human nature of the prairies and the plains. The price of progress has been high, and the machinery of progress needs reconstruction upon lines more economic and efficient. But it will not be long before the march of liberalism in the West and throughout the country will be resumed. Meantime, business needs to be revived, and there needs to be made secure the divorce of liberalism from destructive radicalism. The United States will never be destructively radical nor Socialist. Before it finally wins, National liberalism must have an economic basis in honest and stable industrial prosperity, and the leadership of liberalism must be identified more than it has been with sound business sense and efficiency.

But in the West the march of political liberalism will soon be renewed. Perhaps not in 1916. Certainly with redoubled vigor by 1920. And no man can predict what the West will do even in 1916. The Progressive party now exists there, as elsewhere in the country, mainly as a skeleton organization with the threat of harm. The army had to be created and mobilized in 1912. Now it needs only to be mobilized. In the separate States the great majority of the four millions who voted for Roosevelt will probably enroll in the primaries of the old parties, most of these with the Republican, although a considerable percentage will undoubtedly go into the Democratic ranks. And in this return to the two-party order, the majority American mind being what it is, there is much practical wisdom. The greater portion of the Progressives are opportunist radicals. The idea that there is any moral reproach in political opportunism is an illusion of small minds. Lincoln and every other practical and efficient National leader that we have had have been of the opportunist type. Human nature being what it is, progress has no other way of getting on. Except by a miracle, no third-party movement will have any chance of success in 1916. And the path of least resistance for liberalism is to make the fight within the primaries of the old parties. In a considerable number of States in the West—for example, in Washington, Oregon, California, Kansas, and even Illinois—the liberals may, with no great difficulty, regain control of the Republican machinery. It will be easier than before the revolution in

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1912, and the earthquake shock to the old order. And that is the hope of liberalism, the American two-party mind being what it is: to gain control of the machinery of one of the old parties. This is the practical aspect of progress and democracy which reformers have too frequently forgotten. To be forever wresting from unwilling machines bits of liberty and betterment breeds discontent and disorder. What is needed is, not to wrest concessions from a reluctant machine, but to win the party itself from the control of the machine.

As between the two great parties, the homestead West is as naturally Republican as the South is naturally Democratic. The hearts of the sons and daughters of the original homestead pioneers incline still towards the party which in the days of its purity and integrity sought to give millions of their sturdy forebears an independent property stake in the land. They would like to see the Republican party made once more the party of National power and liberty and the rights of man. They joined in 1912 in delivering it a smashing blow to teach its leadership a lesson. But they would like to give it one more trial. On the other hand, more than in any other section, the West places country above party. So far as the Presidency is concerned, the European war may in a flash re-elect Mr. Wilson. But, disregarding that, if the Republican Convention next year violates, by candidate or platform, the spirit of liberalism which is in the West, the outlook would be dubious for the Republican nominee. A majority of those who voted the Progressive party ticket in 1912 would, in my judgment, directly support Mr. Wilson in 1916. And Mr. Wilson would be re-elected, though he might have to run far in advance of the Democratic vote upon Congressmen to accomplish it. And these men of liberal faith would by this act by no means be registering their confidence in a National Democratic leadership of progress. But, as between a limited liberalism and a determined Bourbon conservatism, they are for the former.

I am more and more convinced by my recent journeys abroad in the land that the purblind East must revise its estimate of the West. The West has its faults—some of the faults of its own democracy—but the West is destined to play a larger and larger part in the National advance. The democratic movement is a movement of equality and of conscience. And my judgment is that, speaking of sections, the West has far more of the spirit of equality and a far keener sense of right, at least within the Nation, than the East. And these qualities are to become more and more powerful in the United States if the Nation continues to exist. On the economic side also the West is destined to advance the cause of democracy. Did it ever occur to our business men in the East that as the decades pass we shall be obliged to get millions more of farmers at work upon the intensive cultivation of the soil or starve to death? Did it ever occur to the men of trade and commerce and finance that they must soon lend active aid and sympathy to the movement back to the land throughout the United States, or else themselves go out and cultivate the soil for a livelihood? But these additional mighty influxes of sturdy, independent agriculturists into the population will mean, as they have always meant in this country, additional doses into the body politic of liberalism and democracy. There is no way out of it. If we survive, we survive as a democratic Nation in which the spirit of democracy will prevail. Why do not the business men of the East frankly recognize it and help to guide it into the channels of a moderate liberalism which will make the country a better and a safer place to live in for themselves and their children?

Many of the present-day followers of Hamilton and Marshall fall into a fallacy of analogy. They think that the heart of democracy still beats in a propertyless rabble which must yet be checked and restrained by a well-to-do minority. That is where they err. The heart of democracy and liberalism in this country now is in the West, in population with a property stake in the land, a strong and vital citizenship of growing mental balance, of rugged health and integrity and love of country. They need the organizing efficiency of the Hamiltonian Federalist in the East. He needs more of the spirit of freedom and right which is in the West. Between the West and the leaders of commerce and industry in the East a union of sympathy and effort would be of immense advantage to the Nation.

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THE MIDDLE WEST AND THE WAR

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BY JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY

"I AM opposed to an embargo on the export of munitions of war; but if the matter comes up in Congress I shall have to vote for it if I wish to be returned to the Senate." This was the reply of a Western Senator, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, when asked as to the opinion of his constituency concerning the war. "I believe about three million petitions have reached Washington in favor of an embargo, and more are coming," he added. When asked whether he thought such a measure would pass Congress, he said: "Yes, I believe it would at the present time, if Congress was now in session; but President Wilson would veto it." "Are you sure he would?" he was asked. "Well, I believe and hope he would," was the answer.

And there you are, as the Englishman would say. The people of the Middle West are as remote mentally from the European conflict in all its phases but one as the tropics are from the North Pole. The one phase which appears to have taken hold of their minds is the slaughter. They have visualized this, not in its reality, but as an abstract fact told in figures, and the general impression seems to be that if America stopped sending bullets there would be no weapons left for the combatants but clubs and fists.

The fact that nearly ten million men and women are now at work in Europe producing munitions of war has apparently escaped their notice. The fact also that of the money spent for munitions of war only five per cent has found expression in orders to American factories has probably never been put before them. The production of war material is increasing in amount with each passing day in European factories, and the percentage supplied by America will never be greater than during the past two months, and possibly Europe could soon be made independent of import except for such raw material as was needed to supplement home supplies. Where these peacemakers would draw the line in the matter of export is not indicated. They would scout the idea of stopping all export, and yet that is what would have to be done to prevent America from supplying war material. In this war everything has become munitions of war. Food, forage, fuel, all the metals and international credits, are just as useful as are the guns and shells shipped across the Atlantic, if not more so. To remain consistent, America would have to make an embargo perpetual, for bullets shipped abroad in times of peace are for use in times of war, and possibly against the country from which purchased.

This is the season of society meetings, summer schools, lecture courses, politico-social gatherings, and other forms of entertainment throughout the great rural districts of America. Hundreds of lecturers are abroad in the land. War correspondents, politicians, peace advocates, and advocates of everything else under the sun find audiences without difficulty. The skilled orator finds in his peaceful surroundings a never-failing source of inspiration. He has but to draw a word picture of blood-stained and devastated Europe by way of contrast to make his audience hug itself with delight at the fortunate circumstance of residence in this peaceful land, where the only problem is the best method of fattening a bank account, and that, the speaker leaves the audience to infer, is the most blessed of all occupations.

Out on the Pacific Coast they do talk somewhat in detail as to the war, and relief work is measurably active, but in the Middle West the war serves the same purpose as did the "horrible example" to the old-time temperance lecturer. As you listen to some of these talkers who earn their fees telling us what a great and good people we are and how fortunate our Nation is that it can keep clear of the trouble in which the balance of humanity is involved, it brings back to memory the days of the Populist party in its prime; the long, slim figure of "Cyclone" Davis swaying with emotional oratory; the vivid picture drawn of the luxurious funeral train of a moneyed United States Senator who had died in Washington—the train of private cars carrying the mourners, the ice-boxes in the baggage cars filled with wines and other luxuries for those who accompanied the remains to their Western resting-place—all at the expense of the taxpayers. And then the still more vivid and contrasting picture of the funeral of the daughter of a poor white cotton farmer, a "renter:" the simple white shroud, the

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rough pine box, the anguished mourners. I have seen hundreds of honest, sincere, and hard-working men and women who listened to this oratory with tears streaming down their faces, all unashamed, and who accepted this half-religious, half-political harangue as a new gospel which was going to lead the Nation into great happiness, contentment, and prosperity.

In many cases to-day it is the same orators, the same surroundings, the same people—only now the doctrine preached is one of smug satisfaction with our own state and condition, which are to be maintained by an even more effective withdrawal from the affairs of the world than at present, and the closing of our ears to the noise of combat without by shouting, "Peace, peace, let there be peace!"

Crops are good, prices for the producer are high, the banks are full of money, and, these things being so, it is only the newspaper which brings to the home of the farmer any indication that things are not quite as they should be throughout the world. But it is all so remote, so far away, he cannot let it cloud his life, and it does not. He is sorry for Belgium, admires France, is in favor of twisting the Lion's tail for interfering with American commerce. As for Russia, he knows nothing about that country. The few Russians he has seen were a queer lot—most of them refugees from tyranny—and what happens there does not seem very important to America, anyway. He does not approve of killing Americans, as was the case on the Lusitania; but, after all, why should Americans travel just now? America is good enough for him. Then comes the aforesaid lecturer with his talk of a world without war, a world controlled by the people, a great community, with the American Nation as a bright example for all to follow. The mental position of this American citizen is invulnerable, for many reasons, and for an equal number of reasons you can expect nothing else. At the present time this man is opposed to an extension of National defense, for he sees no need for it. He favors peace, and if he is made to believe that American bullets are prolonging the war, he is in favor of stopping their export. He has little idea that the war now in progress in Europe involves any ideals, certainly not any of those for which he stands, and he believes, generally speaking, that it is a wicked row in which a lot of people are being killed to glut the ambitions of their rulers; and the fact that millions of those people were, before this war began, living under as democratic a government as that of the United States seems to have been forgotten, if it was ever known.

In the city of Chicago I talked with one of the great industrial leaders of this country whose interests are all with and in the Middle West, and who brings home to his Middle Western people the fruits of a vast foreign trade.

"How's business?" I asked.

"Bad, very bad," he said.

"You mean foreign trade," I suggested.

"Oh, yes, that's gone by the board, of course; but I mean here at home as well."

"Why?" I queried.

"You tell me. I don't know," was his answer.

Then he summed up the situation. "Good crops, plenty of money, high prices; why shouldn't business be first-class? I don't know; but I have a theory, and I'll give it to you for what it's worth. The people of the world have come so close together in the last few years that misfortune can no longer be confined to one part of the earth, and such a gigantic disaster as this war hurts everywhere. You can't make our people believe it, but what they are suffering from is war, right here in Illinois and every other State. Our figures of foreign trade increases are lies in that they do not indicate real prosperity. The first sign of peace in Europe and this artificial business disappears. The purchasing power of western Europe will then be at a low ebb. Nearly half of our foreign trade went to England before this war, and the people of that country will buy only what they actually have to have for some time to come. They will also be compelled to put import duties on many things for which we now have free entry. Our whole foreign trade organization will be flat when this war is over, and it will take time and money to rebuild.

"Our people out here are complaining of business conditions and saying at the same time that the American Nation has no concern with this war. Perhaps they will wake up to the fact some day that any country with the population and activities of the United States is most deeply and intimately concerned with what goes on in every corner of the world. We cannot live on each other, spiritually or materially, and grow; but those who do not seem to see this now have the floor, so we will have to rub along until the big jolt comes."

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A GLANCE IN PASSING

"WRITING," says Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, the novelist and feminist, "is a woman's job. Men ought to do things, not write about them. When a man does nothing but write, his hands get so soft, and his character, too." Mrs. Atherton once nearly fell in love with a man who was a writer. But a thought saved her in time, she confides to an interviewer for the New York "Times." "I thought, 'Good heavens! the man does nothing but sit on a three-legged stool and write little stories all day long and peddle them about to the magazines! He might as well be crocheting!' So I promptly recovered."

I have a certain sympathy with Mrs. Atherton's point of view. I write, but I would rather be an admiral or a trapeze performer in a circus or a king or a champion pugilist. And, thanks to the feminists, the day is coming when men will be rescued from writing and all the other arts, and from intellectual exertion generally. These things will be attended to entirely by women. The poets, the painters, the sculptors, the philosophers, the lawyers, the architects, the scientists, will *all* be women. Wits are unmanly. We despise a man who rouges; in the day to come we will equally despise the man who thinks. We will be taught to estimate Plato and Shakespeare and Darwin as the weak, unnecessary school-miss creatures they were; the next generation will curl a lip at Newton and Milton as sissies and mollycoddles.

Man, the burly brute, is a hewer of wood and a drawer of water; he should be kept so. In fifty years boys will be educated for manual labor only, and forbidden to read and write lest they become unsexed. By the year 2015 men will probably lose the faculty of articulate speech; having no thoughts to communicate, the medium of communication will atrophy. Caliban will wed Miranda, who will love him dearly for his unmitigated masculinity, and this planet, being properly balanced for the first time, will spin buzzing about the universe imparting the secret of its achieved perfection to more backward and less lovely stars.

***

An anxious inquirer writes to the medical department of a New York paper: "Would you kindly tell me if there is any cure for a bunion?"

To which the medical journalist replies: "You will get help from (1) walking pigeon-toed; (2) wearing sandals."

The doctor does not mention it, but a bad case of pigeon-toes can be cured by walking bow-legged. The remedy for chronic bow-legs is to walk knock-kneed. Should knock-knees bring on pigeon-toes again, one can, of course, always escape back to bunions.

What would humanity do without the science of medicine as practiced in the newspapers?

***

It is not hard to understand a dynasty being mean enough to want to conquer the world; that is a simple, brutal, comprehensible, primitive impulse. It is more difficult to understand how any one could be stupid enough to believe the lies which diplomatists put forth to veil the impulse.

***

I know a yellow cat, lean and wicked and with the voice of a lost soul crying out its woes across some black abyss of nether night, who has, nevertheless, the courage of Ajax.

For years I have been more or less bothered by the summer cat. He comes—he and she come—in earnest couples, in tragic trios, to stage desperate operas of war and love beneath my chamber window. I have flung old boots, electric light bulbs, Christmas presents, and corncob pipes at them, without effect. Sixteen volumes of the works of the English poets, full of typographical errors and notes by pedantic gentlemen kindly interpreting the poets' meanings better than they could themselves, went after the boots and pipes, but the felines always returned. Once I thought I had permanently discouraged one with Wordsworth's "Excursion," but he was back in forty-eight hours; he had only been hit by the book—he could not read it.

About three months ago I had what I thought was a great idea. I bought an electric pocket-flasher, such as are carried by watchmen and stage burglars and the detectives created by popular illustrators of magazine stories. The next time the alley orchestra tuned up I flashed the light out of my window upon the musicians. They couldn't stand it. Cat after cat would catch it in his eyes, try to stare it down for a couple of minutes, and then suddenly turn and slink

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off. They love the darkness, for their ways are evil.

But about three weeks ago the yellow demon mentioned above made his entrance into the alley, and as he came he sang. He is a cat with a bitter melancholia, with a profound, pessimistic sense of the uselessness of existence; and his hatred of the cosmos which he is forced to inhabit is the motive of his song; he is a cat with a strong, black, bad, unbroken heart, who loathes life.

I gave him the flash in his eyes, and he stopped singing, startled. But did he run? Not he. He squatted and flattened his ears, and swished his tail. I moved the spot-light a couple of feet away from him; he studied it, and then he suddenly sprang at it, hissing and clawing; he arched his back and fought it as I made it dance about the court; he rushed it; he boxed it with his wicked claws extended; he snarled and fell back, baffled; but he always came on again. I got tired before he did, and went to bed and left him victorious. He was back two nights later, and fought the light again; he has been back four or five times. To him that ray of light, menacing him and leaping about him, is not only an enemy, but an enemy whose hostility must be inexplicable; it must shoot down into the blackness at him like a malign miracle. But his heart is stout. Whether the phenomenon is human or feline or demoniac, he is not to be daunted; he has the courage of Ajax. If he weighed fifty pounds instead of ten, he would decimate New York City—the Tammany policemen would not touch him, out of respect for the species—and become as much of a hero as one of America's popular murderers.

* * *

Mr. John Wanamaker is not merely a successful merchant, he is a statesman who thinks in billions. He evolved the other day a truly remarkable plan for stopping the war. He says the United States should raise the sum of one hundred billion dollars and pay it to Germany for the liberty of Belgium.

"I would mortgage the whole of Philadelphia for any sum necessary to stop the bloodshed," said Mr. Wanamaker, this being the first intimation an unsuspecting world has had that it is within his power to mortgage Philadelphia.

I protest. I am not one of the people who write letters to the papers signed "Taxpayer;" I am merely one of the people who pay the rent that makes it possible for "Taxpayer" to pay his taxes. But I protest against Mr. Wanamaker being allowed to mortgage the country to reward the Kaiser; it would, sooner or later, show in my rent. And I do not think the Kaiser deserves one hundred billion dollars reward for what he has done in Belgium.

And how do I know that, after pocketing this sum, the Kaiser would not do it all over again and get another hundred billions, which would mean another mortgage on Mr. Wanamaker's United States, and eventually raise my rent once more?

If the Kaiser promised Mr. Wanamaker personally that he would not do it again, however, I might believe him. For not even the Prussian *Krieg* maniacs could have the heart to deceive a person sufficiently ingenuous to put forth a scheme such as Mr. Wanamaker's.

The naïve belief of Mr. Wanamaker, thinker in billions, that money can do anything and everything is so refreshing in its placid innocence that I feel almost like a cynic in suggesting that there are, after all, moral values as well as financial ones.

* * *

I do not know what Abraham Lincoln ate for breakfast on any given day in 1863; I am ignorant concerning Thomas Jefferson's tastes and preferences in melons; I forget, if I ever knew, how many lumps of sugar Woodrow Wilson likes in his tea. But I have compensations. I know, or I could know in a moment if I turned to the newspaper files, exactly what Harry Thaw had to eat during the three days succeeding his release, and how he liked it, and what he said when he ate it. I enjoy the inestimable benefit of this information because of the enterprise and zeal of a free daily press which has sworn that the skies shall fall and the seas recede ere it shall fail in its duty of furnishing our regnant democracy with the mental nourishment upon which it may grow stronger, purer, and more thoughtful.

* * *

The value of ostriches has declined so in South Africa that, according to a consular report, "a full-grown ostrich which had found its way to the Grahamstown pound was, on being put up at public auction, sold for 6 cents." Shipped to this country, it should have brought more than that as an emblem for our peace-at-any price party.

DON MARQUIS.

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THE NEW BOOKS

"K." By Mary Roberts Rinehart. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.35.

In Mrs. Rinehart's "The Street of Seven Stars" one noted a purpose to deal a little more seriously with life and character than in her earlier tales, which, cleverly constructed and often humorous as they were, put plot and crime mystery to the front. In "K" she moves further in this direction and with real success. There are at least two strongly individual persons here—Sidney, a wholesome, sound, fine girl, human and refreshing, and "K," a famous surgeon, wrongfully discredited and quietly living in "the Street" earning a pittance as a clerk, and incidentally being a good friend and helper to the people about him. There are also half a dozen minor characters who are sharply contrasted and distinctly drawn. Oddly enough, the weakest part of the story is in the management of the plot, which at times seems almost forgotten. The novel is thoroughly likable, and one may safely predict a wide reading for it.

Of Human Bondage. By W. S. Maugham. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.50.

This excessively long novel—it has nearly 650 pages—is of a type over which a group of young English writers have labored mightily within the last two or three years; Dawson, Beresford, Cannan, Thurston, and Walpole are examples. The plan is, negatively, to let construction go hang, and to have no ending, happy or otherwise. Positively, this type of story takes a rather ordinary young man, morally neither virtuous nor totally debased, intellectually of only fair caliber, usually infirm of purpose and weak in taking the initiative, and then lets life react on his character and progress from the cradle but not to the grave—rather to whatever point the author may happen to choose for clipping the thread. One result is that it is as easy to write two or three books about the young man as one; and, if they are as good as Mr. Beresford's "Jacob Stahl" stories or as Mr. Thurston's "Richard Furlong" novels, the reader rejoices. Another advantage is that if the reader or reviewer carps at disgusting incidents or questionable coarseness, he is set down as a Philistine with the dictum: "This is not morals nor imagination; it is *life*. The only question is, Do such things exist?" Yet even realism must choose among material, and we think that the present author might have made his book true without making it so frequently distasteful.

Scattering as is the fiction method here employed, and therefore unequal as the story is in holding power, it has strong interest in its closely informed pictures of art students' life in Paris, medical students' life in London, life in a German university town, and other places into which this young man plunges, or rather drifts. The author, says his publishers' note, evades no detail; we heartily wish he had. The conclusion, if there is one, is that of man's bondage to circumstance. In life, but not in this story, some men do throw off that bondage. There is no inspiration or stimulus to that end here. It must be added that the book shows marked ability in its own way, and also a large amount of careful and thorough work.

Wayfarer's Library (The). E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 40c. per volume.

We like the title of this new series of little books, and we like also its further designation as companionable. In form, compactness, and price the publishers have done for the series what in a different way they did for their now familiar "Everyman's Library." The "Wayfarer" volumes are on the distinctly light side of literature, and include a good deal that is recent in lesser fiction, essays, travels, and so on. "Good, clean, and humorous" and "sane and happy" are the "slogans" of the series. Some twenty-five or more volumes have reached us. Among the authors are Barry Pain, Pett Ridge, George Gissing, Marriott Watson, Bernard Shaw, Richard Jefferies, G. W. E. Russell, Austin Dobson, Hilaire Belloc. He would be hard to suit who could not pick out two or three volumes from the list for light (but not foolish) summer reading.

Subterranean Brotherhood (The). By Julian Hawthorne. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $1.50.

Mr. Hawthorne's account of his stay in the Federal Prison at Atlanta invites comparison with Thomas Mott Osborne's "Within Prison Walls," with which it agrees in being based on personal experience and in calling for detailed prison reform, but differs in that Mr. Hawthorne's experience was not of his own choosing, and that his book is more an impassioned plea for the abolition of the entire prison system than merely a suggestive report pointing to needed changes in the existing régime.

Written with the facility of a practiced writer, the book frequently deserts the detailed facts of experience for the broader expanse of criticism and exhortation.

Woman's Work in Municipalities. (National Municipal League Series.) By Mary Ritter Beard. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

In this volume in the National Municipal League Series, treating successively education, public health, the social evil, recreation, the assimilation of races, housing, social service, corrections, public safety, civic improvement, and government and administration, Mrs. Beard has followed assiduously the slogan to which she refers in her preface, "*Cherchez la femme.*" And if the reader at times feels almost irritated

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at the thoroughness with which the municipal activities of a particular half of humankind are ferreted out, it is an indictment, not of the book nor of the author, but of the social attitude toward women that has called it forth, that puts woman thus aggressively on the defensive to prove her civic worth, that makes such a title seem quite legitimate when "Man's Work in Municipalities" would be pointless.

While Mrs. Beard's book is impressive rather for wealth of fact than for elaborateness of comment, she has not neglected to point out the larger relations of the subjects under treatment, nor is she one of those who display woman's activities for public welfare only to say, "This is enough; we do not need the vote." She holds that active membership in the body politic is the proper accompaniment of intelligent membership in the body social.

But this book is not only fitted to be a potent factor in the making of what Mrs. Beard refers to as a "conscious National womanhood;" through collected facts and quoted reports it gives a broad yet detailed survey of the various problems of American civic life and the corresponding attempts at social betterment.

Schools of To-Morrow. By John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

This volume by a master in philosophy, psychology, and ethics is of pre-eminent importance among the many recent treatises on educational theory and practice. Following the general lines laid down by science, it shows what "the schools of to-morrow" are likely to be, as indicated by the new direction that certain schools are taking in various parts of the country, and the results in such experiment stations. These descriptive statements are supplied by Miss Dewey.

The most prominent of these is the Gary School, in the new industrial city of Gary, Indiana, whose population, consisting mostly of laborers in the steel mills, is sixty per cent foreign-born. The minutely particularized account of its curriculum and its working for eight years under the direction of an expert superintendent with a free hand occupies an entire chapter on "The Relation of the School to the Community." It is highly interesting, and much more than that. No argument for the better democratizing of our common schools, and making them nurseries of desirable citizens efficient for the common welfare, could be so convincing as such a statement of facts. Gary has made a good advance toward the distant ideal of democracy, equal opportunities for all. One-third of all the pupils who have left school "are in the State University, in an engineering school or a business college"—quite a difference from the usual school product.

Professor Dewey's concluding chapter on "Democracy and Education" pointedly characterizes the conventional type of schools as better suited to an autocratic society than to a democratic. It "trains children to docility and obedience, to the careful performance of imposed tasks because they are imposed, regardless of where they lead." No wonder that so many children dislike their schooling. He criticises its method as consisting in teaching a verbal knowledge of facts rather than the real knowledge which is power to apply them in practice. At a time when so many educators, dissatisfied with the results of traditional theory and practice, are in quest of an adequate adaptation to existing social conditions, the appearance of this illuminating volume is to be heartily welcomed.

What Pictures to See in America. By Lorinda Munson Bryant. The John Lane Company, New York. $2.

The author of this volume has produced a worth-while book. We are too apt to think of Italy or France, for instance, as countries containing a great many worth-while pictures, and when we go to these countries we often judge them in terms of their wealth in pictures. For example, Italy means to many of us a place where one finds Giotti's frescoes, Botticelli's "Spring," Leonardo's "Last Supper," Raphael's "Transfiguration," Michael Angelo's Sibyls, Bellini's Madonnas, Titian's "Assumption," and many other treasures. No one seems to think of America as already a land which in some distant degree already approaches this kind of estimate. And yet one has but to review, as does the author, the best pictures in Boston, New Haven, Brooklyn, New York, Buffalo, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco, St. Louis, New Orleans, and other places, to realize that, at least in modern pictures—and in some not so modern too—we are already very rich. This is the prime excellence of the present volume—it draws public attention to this fact. As regards the author's often pertinent criticisms of individual painters the book is not a mature production; perhaps part of this is due to the somewhat familiar way in which this critic takes her readers into her confidence, as, for instance, when she tells us that "for real homey pictures Pieter de Hooch leads the van."

Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediæval Period. By C. R. Morey, Princeton University Press, Princeton. $2, net.

This attractive volume consists of the publication and description of the drawings contained in the Pozzo collection in the Royal Library at Windsor—drawings which illustrate the mosaics and frescoes which are in certain of the early Roman churches. The lover of art as well as the student of archæology will welcome Mr. Morey's ample detail.

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THE READER'S VIEW

HELP SEND THESE CHILDREN TO THE COUNTRY

One of our three-year-olds at Twin Island House said, mournfully: "I do not want to go home; there is no grass in our front hall."

You may perhaps wonder if our small East Side children really appreciate the country. It was a little crippled boy whom I watched throw himself down on the first grass he ever saw, whispering, while he rubbed his face up and down, "Nice, nice!"

The war brought much unemployment and great hardships to our neighbors. We hope they may never again know such a terrible winter. The heroic mothers need the good cheer of the country house, and their pale-faced babies are astonishingly transformed by the fresh air.

Two weeks may not seem a very long vacation; but in a happy fortnight one can store up many precious memories. The boy who said, "I know all about heaven; I was there two weeks last summer," expresses the feeling of many of the children.

One of our ten-year-olds, in describing some one he liked, said, "She has a heart for the kids."

Many readers of The Outlook are valued contributors to the Settlement; and some other friend of Jacob Riis, with a "heart for the kids," may wish in these hard times to help us in our efforts to keep Twin Island House open throughout the summer months.

JANE E. ROBBINS,
Head Worker.

The Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement,
48 Henry Street, New York City.

A LETTER FROM GERMANY

An old subscriber herewith asks you to discontinue the mailing of your paper. I am a German who believes in the absolute justice of the German cause in this terrible conflict of nations. The Outlook, editorially, has from the very beginning of the war taken a different standpoint. This means that the perusal of your paper, to which in former times I looked forward with so much pleasure, has been more or less painful.

I know that the editors of The Outlook have never ceased to act and to write in the most perfect good faith, according to their best understanding; but what fills me with deep regret is the fact, evidenced by every number, that their knowledge of Germany is often deficient—at times to such an extent as to render their judgment positively unjust. I cannot think that the information of some of your editors about our country was "gotten at the source"—namely, through a sojourn in our midst of some duration. If received through English channels, the picture is likely to come out biased, as I have had to witness.

I willingly acknowledge that you have given the pro-German side every now and then a hearing, but the editorial references have impressed me more or less as those of a patriotic English paper. Have I a right to criticise this? No. Every man has a right to his own opinion. But in my case I find this: When a year ago I renewed my subscription, it was done with the intention of getting an *American* weekly. Since the war broke out, on opening your paper and looking for the news which interests me before all others, I find myself in *England*. Do you blame your subscriber when he wishes to change?

It is my absolute belief that when the war is over with all its horrors, which nobody can regret more than we do, those who condemn Germany now will readjust their opinion after they have seen how our people will act in peace. The passions are running too high now to make discussions bear any fruit. The war which has been forced upon Germany—it is wrong to put it the other way—has to be fought to the bitter end. The bloodiest part of it is yet to come, thanks to the action of the United States Government, which allows the export of an unlimited supply of war materials to the Entente Powers. Our foes have freest access to the immense resources of your country, while we are shut out from everything. Your Government and many of your papers hold that this is in strict accordance with the neutrality laws. It is with the blood of thousands upon thousands of their children that Germany and her allies are paying for this particular construction of neutrality upheld by President Wilson, in spite of the growing protest of all true friends of peace.

A native American calls my attention to-day to a notice in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of April 29, referring to a publication by an American writer (Dr. Hermann Gerhard), who points out that President Wilson, if he wished, could well declare an embargo, basing the action on existing American laws which had never been revoked. President Roosevelt is said to have based himself on such a law during the war between Russia and Japan. Not being a lawyer nor an expert in history, I cannot say if this statement is correct. But those whom it concerns should look it up without delay.

In your article "Arms and Advertisements" (Outlook of April 14), speaking against the embargo, you say: "To prevent the shipment of arms from a neutral country to a belligerent is to encourage rather than discourage militaristic ambition." This means that militaristic Germany is to be punished. And the United States,

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according to President Wilson, happens to have a chance—nay, it has the duty—to help to crush the German "militarism."

We protest against such a construction of neutrality as emphatically as against the ever-repeated charge of "militarism." We are a nation in arms—by dire necessity. Happy America, so differently situated from Germany, cannot realize what it means to be surrounded by powerful enemies on all sides. Germany would have ceased to exist to-day had not all able-bodied citizens in time received a soldier's training. I am proud of my year of active service in the German army (1875–6), which service I did not resent as a burden, but considered a privilege and a civic duty. I more than ever so consider it now.

Not Germany, but England, is the despot of the world. England lays her hands upon the resources of America, as if your country were a British colony.

He who writes this is a plain business man (now retired) who saw a little of the world during the forty years he was engaged in trade, fifteen of which were spent in the United States. He is not of the class who condemns in bulk the nations we have to fight now, for he personally knows fine representatives of each, and hopes the relations of mutual esteem will not be lost through these terrible trials, but will, after peace is restored, prove the best of help for the period of reconstruction which is to give to all of us a new and better life. He does not claim that the Germans are perfect. But what he does know is that they are a great deal better than the English press and its following represents them to be. He feels sure that Germany, if victorious, will offer conditions of peace of which our present adversaries will say: "Look here! We have been unjust. Let us change our opinion." ERNST L. C. SCHULZ.

Wittmannstrasse 40,
Darmstadt, Germany.

MODERATE DRINKING AND INSURANCE

An article contributed by Mr. Samuel Wilson in your issue of June 30, discussing the question, "Is Moderate Drinking Justified?" and giving the "Answer of Life Insurance" as conclusive evidence in the negative, would be overwhelmingly convincing were it not for the fact that *all* the truth has not been told, admitting for the moment that statistics *are* true.

The data from which Mr. Wilson says the insurance companies arrive at "The Answer" proves nothing, for reasons that are obvious to those who compile them.

No man has yet appeared who knows how to compute the death rate of moderate drinkers so as to furnish the proper rate which this large class of policy-holders should pay for their protection; and, if he should appear, he would be in great demand by the insurance companies.

Some few life insurance companies, chiefly comparatively small British ones, maintain separate departments for total abstainers, and in most of these companies the continuance of their insurance at a lower rate of premium is contingent upon the policy-holder's annual avowal of unbroken total abstinence.

With these few exceptions, no regular life insurance company can exercise any supervision over its policy-holders or keep informed as to their drinking habits once they have been insured by it.

On applying for insurance the applicant is asked by all life companies whether he drinks wines, beers, or spirits; and, if so, which beverage he indulges in, how often, and in what quantity. If he admits or is suspected of using alcohol in any form to excess, he is rejected. If he is accepted and his policy issued, no company has either the right or the means of obtaining any information as to his drinking habits in after years, and cannot separately calculate the death rate of such of those as were moderate drinkers and thereafter remained so.

In the great majority of cases the life companies' chief source of information regarding the drinking or non-drinking habits of the applicant is the applicant himself, and the answers made to the medical examiners by the applicant are not unlikely to be biased in favor of himself.

Again, the answers deal only with past history as regards drinking or non-drinking habits, and even the applicant himself cannot say what his future habits will be.

It is almost a certainty, however, that the applicant who has been written down as a "total abstainer" or "moderate drinker" in his application will not remain in that classification for the duration of his policy. However truthful his answers at the time of the examination, his habits may change in future years for better or for worse, and there is no question that among the millions of policy-holders in American life insurance companies there are thousands who have become heavy drinkers, though they were not classed as such when examined by the doctor.

For the above-named reasons, heavy drinkers are certain to be included with, and swell, the mortality of those classed as "moderate drinkers."

I maintain, therefore, that it follows that any conclusions based upon life insurance records thus compiled are practically worthless and misleading.

It would be an impossibility to dispose of the question, "Is Moderate Drinking Justified?" by the data now obtainable from life insurance records. EDWARD A. HOBBS.

New York City.

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BY THE WAY

Over 5,000 towns are said to have enlisted in a "clean-up-and-paint-up" movement originated in St. Louis two years ago. Particulars are furnished by Allen W. Clark, chairman of the National Clean-Up-and-Paint-Up Bureau, St. Louis. Mr. Allen credits the editors of the local newspapers with being "the one most important factor in spreading the gospel of cleanliness, thrift, and civic pride in the campaigns of last year."

Some of the many artists who are at the front in France make their sketches undaunted by shell-fire. The "Century" publishes a picture of the ruins of a farm-house, about which the battle had raged, drawn by Henri Jacquier, who took the first *grand prix* of the Salon. "While M. Jacquier," says a fellow-artist, "was finishing this drawing with very rapid pencil-strokes, a shell burst near him, and actually flung the earth into his car. But the drawing was finished."

Pupils of schools in Cincinnati not long ago enjoyed a novel contest—a kite-flying competition. Kites of odd shapes, resembling biplanes, stars, and butterflies, were entered, as well as box kites and the old-fashioned bow kites. One of the last variety won the prize for altitude flying; it rose to a height of 705 feet.

In a study as to ability to spell English words correctly, just published by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, of the Russell Sage Foundation, it is stated that second-grade pupils, on an average, spelled 94 per cent of very common words correctly—such words as the, in, so, no, now, man, ten, bed, top. On the other hand, only 50 per cent of eighth-grade pupils spelled correctly the words judgment, recommend, and allege. Dr. Ayres says that fifty words constitute, with their repetitions, one-half of the words written, and that the child who masters the spelling of the 1,000 commonest words will make no spelling errors in nine-tenths of his writing.

San Francisco's debt to the Panama Canal is indicated in the statement that in three months that city's trade with Europe increased 100 per cent, and with New York and Atlantic ports 260 per cent; while the number of steamship lines which use the port has increased from three to sixteen.

The Robert Gould Shaw collection of dramatic photographs, portraits, autograph letters, and playbills, reputed to be the finest in the world, has been presented to Harvard University by its founder, Robert Gould Shaw, Harvard '69. The collection is to be housed in the new Widener library. There are more than 60,000 prints and hundreds of thousands of playbills in the 264 exhibits comprising the collection.

Under the title "In Shakespeare's America" W. A. Bradley tells in "Harper's Magazine" about the curious survivals of Elizabethan English that he found in the Kentucky mountains—"holp" for helped, "whup" for whipped, "wrop" for wrapped, "clomb" for climbed. "He's tuk a franzy spell," a phrase used to describe a mountain man suddenly bereft of his senses, harks back, says the writer, to Sir Philip Sidney. "To smother" in the mountains means to roast, "ambitious" is to be angry, "worrited" means tired, and molasses is always used in the plural as "these molasses."

People who say that all the subjects for the drama have been treated should read an article by Alfred Capus, the well-known French author, in the "Dramatist" for July. "New types are in the making," he says; "the types of old, even the passions, our intimate feelings, are undergoing the most radical transformation. Country life is entirely changed as well as the life of the capital. . . . As nature has but to add some slight line in the face in order to create a new and distinct person, so the artist need not continually create new and original forms, but add only such nuances and personal touches as come natural to him. . . . The history of the theater is one endless example of this."

An exchange, satirizing the grilling of children in the examination questions which were the delight of the schoolmaster of a past era, suggests that the children might "get back at" their elders by some such examination as this:

1. What was the net result of the efforts of the royal forces (both infantry and cavalry) to restore Humpty Dumpty to his former estate? Do you see in this any lesson as to the failure of a militaristic system?

2. Describe the co-operative expedition of Jack and Jill and the ensuing catastrophe. From the point of view of emancipated womanhood, ought Jill to have preceded Jack down the hill?

"To-day the good old American dollar commands a premium abroad and in our store," an advertisement proclaims in announcing a marked-down sale in a department store. It continues: "The United States dollar is worth $1.02 of English money, $1.09 of French money, $1.17 of German money, $1.18 of Italian money, $1.33 of Russian money, $1.34 of Austrian money." The moral drawn by the advertiser is that these good American dollars should be spent at home, gratifying as is the premium abroad.

The Automobile Club of America disapproves of the ancient practice of street-sprinkling. The sprinkling of streets causes automobiles to skid and is dangerous to horses as well. It also injures paved surfaces, especially the wood block pavements. Commissioner Fetherston, of New York, asserts that flushing the streets by night is far better than sprinkling, but that the ideal method is that of dry cleaning by a combination of the sweeper and vacuum systems. This method he is now seeking to perfect.

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